

ARGONAUTA



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Editorial

by Isabel Campbell / Colleen McKee



Greetings readers. In this spring issue, we welcome another original piece of research on captured German U-boats by retired Air Commodore Derek Waller. Readers of his *The Surrender of the U-Boats* may also enjoy reading Chris Madsen's *The Royal Navy and German naval disarmament, 1943-1947* (London: Frank Cass, 1998) for an academic overview of the contextual background for this fascinating and important topic.

We would like to announce that the autumn 2018 issue will be dedicated to the Royal Canadian Navy and feature Waller's research piece examining the RCN and captured U-boats at the end of the Second World War – a topic which he has explored in depth over many years. We are truly delighted to publish this detailed reference article on a little known chapter in Canada's naval history.

This current issue contains the proposed abstracts and biographies for the CNRS conference to be held in Toronto from 21 to 23 June 2018. We advise our readers to check the CNRS website https://www.cnrs-scrn.org/admin/conf_cp_2018_e.html for updates on the conference schedule and information about the location and other relevant details. The abstracts cover a broad range of maritime historical topics and the conference itself has attracted the usual group of top-notch scholars. Conference organizer Sam McLean has done an outstanding job and we hope some of these presenters and new attendees will join the Society and contribute to a vibrant, healthy future.

This issue sees some exciting announcements about on-going maritime and Arctic exhibits at the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Quebec just across the river from Ottawa. Editor Campbell highly recommends the Franklin exhibit which she has recently visited; the First Peoples Gallery was also educational.

Readers should take note of the announcement about Bruce Kemp's *Weather Bomb 1913* book. It's a tragic and true Great Lakes story which Kemp has brought to life. This work exemplifies the new self-publishing trend which has grown so rapidly in recent years and which demonstrates that engaging scholarship is no longer the exclusive preserve of elite academic publishing houses.

That said, we encourage all readers to submit their carefully researched academic articles to *The Northern Mariner*. In his announcement on this topic, Editor Bill Glover notes that more submissions are required to support the journal's publication on a quarterly basis. *The Northern Mariner* offers two peer appraisals, including constructive criticisms to strengthen scholarship. It offers authors a chance to bring their research to expert, critical audiences.

Finally our President Rich Gimblett draws your attention to Council issues of engagement, volunteering, and the Society's future. Please see his call for nominations and his President's Corner for a summary of future concerns. No matter what your age, experience, and background, we encourage you to engage actively with Council on issues of concern.

As always, *Argonauta* is your voice. So please send us your articles, your debates, your announcements, and your feedback on the Society and our publication. We need your input to provide the diversity of content we'd like to publish and we welcome your views.

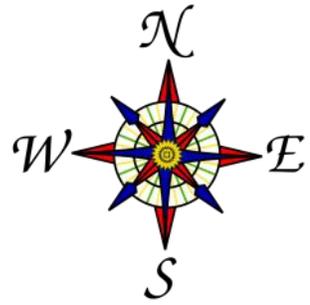
Fair winds,
Isabel and Colleen



We encourage you to join us on facebook and twitter where we post links to interesting articles and announcements from around the internet. Our social media channels are where you will find time sensitive notices that are not suitable for publishing here in the *Argonauta*.

President's Corner

by Richard Gimblett
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I had the pleasure in mid-March to host the regular Winter Meeting of Council. Appreciating that the formal minutes cannot be produced in time to appear in this publication, I have chosen to shape my remarks informed by our discussion.

I received only a few responses to my last Corner, but they were uniformly supportive of the major changes proposed: to making the journal available on an “open access” basis, and consequently to our membership fees and funding structure. Please see my Winter column for a fuller description of these. Importantly, I have had no pushback to any of it. That — along with the report from the Membership Secretary that renewals are coming in at the regular rate, that there have been no abnormal discontinuations, and indeed that there have been several recent new memberships — I take as signs that you the members of the Society generally are satisfied with the transition being proposed by Council. I remain open to feedback. At any rate, because it constitutes a major change to our method of operation, you will have the final say when it is all put to a vote at the coming Annual General Meeting (AGM) concurrent with the conference in Toronto on 21-23 June 2018.

Something else to look forward to at the AGM will be an amendment to our by-laws seeking to expand the size of Council, from the present four Councillors to “up to eight”. This is intended to meet twofold purposes: primarily to allow a greater pool from which to draw the senior executive officers, after a suitable period of exposure to our governance processes; but also secondarily to permit greater regional representation.

I don't foresee prescribing that there be a Councillor from each of the West Coast, the Prairies, Québec, and the Maritimes and Newfoundland & Labrador to counter-balance the existing over-representation of southern Ontario, but this idea is nonetheless a worthy objective. I am not convinced that technology to allow teleconferencing of meetings will be perfected in the near future and it remains difficult for Councillors “from away” to travel to Council meetings. We live in hope for persons such as previous President Chris Madsen from Vancouver and present Councillor Ian Yeates from Regina, around whose travel opportunities we can try to arrange our dates. In any case, Councillors “from away” supply vital input and help the Society remain responsive to regional concerns and so I am encouraging members from the regions to consider serving on Council, even if they cannot travel to our meetings.

I see it being of greater urgency to make a generational transition of Council, all of whom other than Sam McLean are of the over-60 set. But I also know it would be unfair to shotgun the organization to keen young folks like him who are not yet fully established in their careers. So I am hoping those of you who are at that “comfortable” [sic] mid-life point can see your way to getting involved more actively and giving back to the Society the benefits you have accrued so far.

In the course of writing that last sentence I had pause to reflect that it is coming up on a quarter century ago that Alec Douglas drew me onto Council, and it has been a most rewarding journey. Give some thought to putting yourself forward, or if approached to be nominated don't dismiss it out of hand. Here's looking forward to the rush on my in-box!

Richard H. Gimblett
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The Surrender of the U-Boats in 1945

by Air Commodore Derek Waller, RAF (Rtd)

On 4 May 1945, on behalf of Admiral Donitz, the German Navy's Captain (U/B) West, in a message which was repeated several times in the following days, ordered all the U-Boats at sea to cease operations and to return to Norwegian ports:

The following order has been promulgated by the Gross Admiral: All U-Boats including the East Asia boats are to cease offensive action forthwith and begin return passage unseen. Ensure absolute secrecy. Manifestation of this step must not reach the outer world for the time being. When on return passage, avoid all possibilities of being attacked by hunting groups. Norwegian ports of arrival will be given later.¹

Then, early in the afternoon of 5 May, there was a further message from the German Naval War Staff, repeated by BdU (Ops) (Befehlshaber der Unterseeboote - HQ of Commander Submarines - Operations Division), to all U-Boats, reinforcing the order for them to:

Cease action forthwith against the British and Americans.¹

Thereafter, the formal surrender of the Kriegsmarine took place in two phases, but not before Admiral Donitz had sent a personal message to all the U-Boat COs and their crews on 5 May:

My U-Boat men: Six years of U/B warfare lie behind us. You have fought like lions. An overwhelming superiority in material has forced us into a very narrow space. From this small basis a continuation of our battle is no longer possible - U/B men, unbroken and unashamed you are laying down your arms after a heroic struggle without an equal. We think respectfully of our fallen comrades, who have sealed with death their loyalty to the Fuehrer and the Fatherland. Comrades, keep your U/B spirit, with which you have fought bravely, toughly and undeviatingly through the long years, also in the future for the best of our Fatherland. Long live Germany. Your Grand Admiral.¹

The surrender of all German armed forces in Holland, Denmark and north-west Germany, including the Frisian Islands, Heligoland and all the islands in Schleswig Holstein, to Field Marshal Montgomery's 21st Army Group followed. The document was signed on the evening of 4 May and the agreed conditions came into effect at 0800 on 5 May. It required all German forces in these areas to lay down their arms and to surrender unconditionally and, in the Field Marshal's own hand-writing, it specifically included all naval ships in the area.

As part of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) Mission to Denmark, Rear Admiral Reginald Holt arrived in Copenhagen on the afternoon of 5 May, where he lost no time in making it clear to the resident German

naval staff that, despite the lack of any other Allied presence, he expected the terms of the surrender to be observed without question. He emphasised what he called '*the standstill order*' verbally on 6 May, and in writing on 7 May. However, it seems that the Royal Navy was more interested in the fate of the Kriegsmarine's surface ships in Denmark, such as cruisers, destroyers, minesweepers and other smaller warships, rather than in any U-Boats which might surrender there.

The German Naval War Staff at Flensburg had sent a message to all subordinate naval organisations on the morning of 6 May reinforcing the earlier instructions, and spelling out the details of the surrender document, which included the statements that:

All hostilities ... at sea ... by German forces ... to cease at 0800 hours (British Double Summer Time) on 5 May

The German command is to carry out at once, and without argument or comment, all further orders that will be issued by the Allied Powers on any subject. (2)

Also, Admiral Donitz, as Head of State, had made clear to the German Armed Forces High Command on 4 May that it was essential that the terms of the surrender were followed to the letter, including the requirement that there should be no demolitions or sinking of warships, including U-Boats. Thus the terms of the surrender were well known to all the naval authorities in north-west Germany, especially those in the Cuxhaven area, who were quite clear that operations were to cease, that all warships were to surrender, and that proposals to scuttle any U-Boats were forbidden.

Despite this, the orders were ignored by many of the U-Boat COs and, as a result, 95 U-Boats were scuttled on 5 May, most were from Kiel, Flensburg, Wilhelmshaven and Wesermunde. This was perhaps not surprising as there was considerable confusion in relation to the scuttling orders, the result of which was that by the end of the day only 19 U-Boats had surrendered in port as instructed: 16 in the German ports of Heligoland (7), Cuxhaven (8) and Flensburg (1), and three in Baring Bay, near Fredericia, Denmark. Subsequently, just two more U-Boats arrived from sea at ports which had already surrendered. One, *U-806*, in Aarhus (Denmark) on 6 May and the other, *U-1198*, in Cuxhaven on 8 May. Of the 16 U-Boats which surrendered in ports in north-west Germany, two were the Type XVIIIB 'Walter' U-Boats, *U-1406* and *U-1407*. These had arrived in Cuxhaven on 3 May, and after their COs' requests for scuttling instructions had been forbidden by the local Kriegsmarine authorities, they had surrendered on 5 May in accordance with the Allied instructions. However, once the crews had been taken off and whilst the two U-Boats were moored in Cuxhaven harbour, they were illegally scuttled on 7 May by a German naval officer who had not been a member of either crew, an action for which he was court-martialled in February 1946.

The confusion about the scuttling of the U-Boats had arisen because of a series of orders and counter-orders. For example, at 0028 on 4 May the Naval War Staff reminded all concerned, including Admiral (U/B), that:

Basic order remains in force that [all vessels from battleships to small battle units, including U-Boats] may not fall into enemy hands, but in the existing situation are to be sunk or destroyed.³

This was followed at 0049 on 4 May by a message from Admiral U-Boats in which he reminded all U-Boat COs and U-Boat bases in what he called '*The Homeland*' that not only were the U-Boats to be scuttled or destroyed on receipt of the codeword '*Regenbogen*', but:

Over and above this, the order is: No boat is to fall into enemy hands. Every man must scuttle on his own responsibility in case of danger.¹

And at 0145 on 4 May, the Naval War Staff advised:

Local C's-in-C are authorised, taking account of [the] situation, to issue code word 'Regenbogen' on their own responsibility.³

Similarly, at 0134 on 5 May an order was sent saying:

- 1. New Situation*
- 2. If possible U-Boats are to go to Norway*
- 3. All U-Boats which at 0800/5/5 are in German or Danish ports, roads or bays or are south of latitude 55.10 north will carry out 'Regenbogen', ie. scuttle in as deep water as possible.¹*

However, less than two hours later, this order was countermanded in a message to all U-Boat COs in German and Danish waters saying:

Do not carry out any further 'Regenbogen' after 0800/5/5.¹

It was therefore not surprising that at 2358 on 5 May the U-Boat Base at Wesermunde reported:

Cancellation of 'Regenbogen' received too late. 'Regenbogen' carried out.³

And at 1041 on 6 May the U-Boat Base at Wilhelmshaven reported, without any apology:

Wilhelmshaven is being occupied. Secret matter destroyed. 'Regenbogen' carried out. Long live Germany and the proud U-Boat arm.⁴

All the few (21) surrenders that occurred as a result of the agreement with 21st Army Group took place before the ports in question (Heligoland, Cuxhaven, Flensburg and Fredericia) had been occupied by Allied forces, but the Allies' orders were nevertheless implemented by the local German naval authorities, who accepted the need to co-operate fully. However, this was not the case in other north-west German locations where most of the U-Boats were based. Nevertheless, the scuttlings did not raise too many Allied concerns, particularly as, by their sinking, the U-Boats had been put beyond future war-like use, which was one of the long-term objectives of the Royal Navy.

The general German capitulation, signed on 7 May, came into effect at 0001 on 9 May. It dealt with all naval ships (including U-Boats) in port and also, in considerable detail, with the U-Boats which were still at sea. The U-Boats in port were covered by the 'Act of Military Surrender' itself, and the U-Boats at sea were covered separately by Annexures A and B of the related 'Special Orders by the Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Force (SCAEF) to the German High Command relating to Naval Forces'.

As a result of the capitulation [*Operation Eclipse*], SHAEF released a message at 0410 on 7 May, saying:

A representative of the German High Command signed the unconditional surrender of all German land, sea and air forces in Europe ... at 0141 hours under which all forces will cease active operations at 0001 hours on 9 May. (5)

A similar message from the First Sea Lord (who was the Chief of Naval Staff at the Admiralty) to all Royal Navy Flag Officers ashore and afloat, as well as to HQ RAF Coastal Command, followed at 1629 on 7 May, adding:

Instructions to cease offensive operations will be promulgated generally to the Fleet by Admiralty at earliest moment this can be done. (6)

A short time later, at 1725 on 7 May, the Assistant Chief of Naval Staff advised the Commander-in-Chief of RAF Coastal Command (C-in-C CC) to:

Cease attacks on all shipping, [but] attacks on U-Boats should continue as heretofore. (5)

Thus the U-Boat war continued, despite Donitz' orders on 4 and 5 May to cease operations against the British and American forces, and despite the German capitulation on 7 May. It was not formally brought to an end until 0037 on 9 May when the Vice Chief of Naval Staff issued the instruction:

Carry out Operation 'Adieu'. (5)

Then, in accordance with 'Adieu' and the SHAEF Special Orders, the U-Boats at sea began to surrender and to be directed and/or escorted by Allied warships and aircraft to the defined initial examination locations. As set out in Annexure B to the Special Orders, the main UK surrender port for the U-Boats at sea in the eastern Atlantic was Loch Eriboll in north-west Scotland, with Portland in the south of England as a second UK surrender port. Kiel and Gibraltar were also defined as surrender ports, and in the western North Atlantic there were four surrender points. Two in Canadian waters, one east of Newfoundland and one south of Nova Scotia, and two in the US waters, one east of Casco Bay in Maine and one east of the Delaware River in New Jersey.

The surrender of U-Boats in port after the capitulation, 87 in Norway and one in France, was a relatively straightforward affair, albeit in Norway there were very few

Allied forces present on 9 May. Instead, as in Denmark and in many of the north-west German ports, the Allies used the German military infrastructure to facilitate the surrender process.

The terms of surrender had been notified to the German C-in-C in Norway by Field Marshal Keitel on 7 May followed by a message from the German Naval War Staff in Flensburg on the morning of 8 May. The latter made it clear to the Head of the Kriegsmarine in Norway that he was responsible for the notification of the conditions of surrender to all relevant naval organisations, including all surface vessels, as well as to the Admiral Commanding the U-Boats. Also, in order to avoid the confusion that had overtaken events in Denmark and north Germany on 5 May, the Kriegsmarine's Captain (U/B) West issued an order to all U-Boat bases in Norway at 0125 on 8 May saying:

Do not allow any U-Boats to sail, nor permit transfers of any kind between the bases.

The Admiral of the Fleet has ordered: U-Boats in Norway are neither to be scuttled nor destroyed, because only in that way can hundreds of thousands of German lives in the east be saved.¹

Also, at 2026 on 8 May, Admiral Donitz sent his final personal message to the U-Boat COs:

U-Boat men. After a heroic fight without parallel you have laid down your arms. You have unprecedented achievements to your credit. You must now make the hardest sacrifice of all for your Fatherland by obeying the [surrender] instructions unconditionally. This casts no slur on your honour but will prevent serious consequences for your native land. The order to proceed on return passage to Norway is cancelled. Your Gross Admiral.⁷

The surrender process in Norway began in Oslo on 8 May with a meeting between Commodore Per Askim of the Royal Norwegian Navy, representing the Royal Navy's Flag Officer Norway, Rear Admiral James Ritchie, and the Kriegsmarine's Admiral Krancke, who was clear about the need to cooperate fully with Allied naval representatives. The local German naval authorities in Norway therefore followed the Allies' surrender and disarmament orders, passed via the Kriegsmarine HQ in Oslo, in order to effect the prompt surrender of all the U-Boats in Norwegian ports on 9 May.

Perhaps predictably, after the total German capitulation, the surrender of the U-Boats at sea did not go quite as smoothly as the surrender of those in port. The final results were affected by the position of each U-Boat at midnight on 8 May, difficulties with the receipt of the surrender messages, the date on which the U-Boat sent its initial 'Position, Course, Speed' (PCS) message, the surrender port chosen by the CO, and the attitudes of the U-Boat COs to the prospect of captivity for themselves and their crews. Most COs received the surrender messages on 8, 9 or 10 May, and most accepted the inevitability of the German defeat and thus the need to surrender forthwith. However a number of them were unhappy about the situation, and just a very few chose to ignore or disobey the Allied surrender orders. On the other hand, there

were real signals reception difficulties, a fact well recognised by the Allies, and a number of the U-Boats at sea either did not receive the formal surrender orders at all, did not receive them on time, or received them in such an unconventional manner as to suggest that they might be invalid.

The actual pattern of the surrenders from sea was therefore a varied one. A number of the U-Boats in the vicinity of Norway and Germany headed quickly and directly for ports in those countries without first broadcasting their surrender messages. The majority of the U-Boats at sea transmitted their PCS surrender messages on 9, 10 and 11 May, and then - as instructed - headed for the appropriate surrender port either solo or with an aircraft and/or surface warship escort. Fifteen U-Boats surrendered on 9 May, ten on 10 May and seven on 11 May. Others took a little longer to surface and send their first PCS message or to arrive at an Allied port without prior notice.

The majority of the U-Boats which surrendered from sea in the eastern Atlantic area headed for Loch Eriboll in the UK. The first U-Boat (*U-1009*) arrived there on the morning of 10 May and, between then and 18 May, a further 17 U-Boats arrived in Loch Eriboll, including *U-2326* which had surrendered to an aircraft in the North Sea on 11 May and, after first heading for Kiel, had arrived in Dundee on 14 May.

The most extreme example of delay after surrender occurred in the case of *U-3008*. This U-Boat had surrendered to an aircraft whilst at sea off the far north-east tip of Denmark on 11 May and had been ordered to sail to Kiel. However, the CO was loath to travel south without either an escort or a copy of the charts showing the minefields. He therefore anchored in Frederickshaven Roads in north-east Denmark from 12 to 19 May before obeying his orders and heading for Kiel, where *U-3008* eventually arrived on 21 May.

By mid-May there were nevertheless apparently still 38 U-Boats at sea which were unaccounted for, albeit that most of them had been sunk in the last few weeks of the war. Thus, on 18 May, on Allied instructions, BdU (Ops) signalled the 38 'missing' U-Boats, including *U-530*, *U-963*, *U-977*, *U-979* and *U-1277*, saying:

*Your conduct is wrong in not acting in accordance with the unconditional surrender signed. This entails a breach of the obligations undertaken by the Grand Admiral and the laws of war. Serious consequences for yourselves and Germany may ensue. Surface at once and report position. Remain on the surface and wait for further instructions.*¹

By 21 May it was estimated that between 10 and 12 U-Boats were still at sea and therefore potentially dangerous, and the Admiralty's '*U-Boat Situation Report*' for the week ending 21 May recorded that:

*What the remaining U-Boats are doing or intend to do is a fruitful and intriguing subject for speculation [and] it is still possible though increasingly improbable that some of them have failed to intercept or have hitherto refused to believe any of the surrender messages which are so constantly transmitted.*⁸

As a result, the order transmitted on 18 May was reinforced on 24 May in another

message, this time to all U-Boat COs, from the German Admiral West Norwegian Coast, again on behalf of the Allies, stating:

*You are acting wrongly by not surrendering. Your refusal represents a violation of our signature and the rules of war. Serious consequences can arise for you and for Germany. Surface forthwith and report your position in plain language. Remain surfaced and await further orders.*¹

Despite this latter message being repeated regularly until 1 June, by the end of May there were still three U-Boats at sea. Of these, two (*U-530* and *U-977*) were on their way to Argentina where they eventually surrendered, one in July and one in August, and one (*U-1277*) was on its way to Portugal where it was scuttled in early June.

Thus, between 9 May and 17 August, a total of 47 U-Boats surrendered from sea to British, American, Canadian and Argentinian naval forces or put into harbours on either side of the Atlantic:

UK	21	Canada	2
Norway	9	Argentina	2
Germany	6	Gibraltar	2
USA	5		

In summary, as a result of the signing of the two formal surrender documents, and as listed in Annexes A to C below, 156 U-Boats surrendered to the Allies on both sides of the Atlantic, of which only nine put into ports in the western Atlantic: five in the USA, two in Canada (and Newfoundland which joined Canada in 1949) and two in Argentina. Not a single U-Boat surrendered in any Soviet-controlled port, nor did any of the six U-Boats in the Far East surrender to the Allies in May 1945. Instead they were handed over to the Japanese authorities just before the German capitulation came into effect (see Annex D below).

The five U-Boats that surrendered to the US Navy were:

<i>U-234</i>	Surrendered at sea on 12 May
<i>U-805</i>	Surrendered at sea on 9 May
<i>U-858</i>	Surrendered at sea on 9 May
<i>U-873</i>	Surrendered at sea on 11 May
<i>U-1228</i>	Surrendered at sea on 9 May

U-234 was in the central North Atlantic on 10 May when the CO learned of the surrender order, but during the following two days he continued on a southerly course. After messages were picked up from other U-Boats obeying the surrender order, *U-234* reported its position. However, whilst the U-Boat's signals were received on 12 May, and whilst it was ordered to report its position and speed hourly, it was not intercepted for another two days as it headed for the USA. On 14 May a report was received giving the U-Boat's latest PCS information, and USS *Sutton* intercepted *U-234* in the late evening, escorting it for the rest of the night towards the Casco Bay 'Surrender Point'. The next morning *U-234* was stopped and an armed guard was put on board. Also, the

order to escort *U-234* to Casco Bay was changed, and the U-Boat was instead directed to the 'Examination Anchorage' in the Lower Harbour at Portsmouth, NH. In the meantime, USS *Sutton* had been joined by USS *Carter* and USS *Muir*, with all four vessels, including the U-Boat, arriving at Portsmouth early on 19 May.

U-805 was the very first U-Boat to transmit its surrender message. It had been heading for the Halifax area of Nova Scotia on 8 May when it received the surrender order. The U-Boat then headed back towards the Azores, but early on 9 May when in the central North Atlantic, it was instructed to set course for Newfoundland. On 10 May, USS *Otter* and USS *Varian* were instructed to intercept *U-805*. Setting out on 11 May from Argentia, Newfoundland, they made visual contact with *U-805* early on 12 May and a boarding party was successfully transferred. By this time it had been decided that the U-Boat would not be taken to Newfoundland, but would instead be sailed to the American Casco Bay 'Surrender Point', where it arrived at 0800 hours on 15 May. After the formal surrender processes were complete, it was handed over to US Coast Guard cutter USCGC *Argo* (WPC-100) for delivery to Portsmouth Navy Yard [PNY], where it arrived later on 15 May.

U-858 was south-east of Newfoundland on 8 May when it received the surrender order. The next day the U-Boat surfaced as instructed and broadcast its number and PCS information. On 10 May *U-858* was joined by USS *Pillsbury* which placed an armed guard aboard, and escorted it to the southernmost 'Surrender Point' in the waters off Cape May, New Jersey, where it arrived on 14 May. The harbour at the Cape May Navy Base was too shallow, so *U-858* was moored at Cape Henlopen, close to Fort Miles at Lewes, Delaware. After the removal of its torpedoes, it was transferred to the Philadelphia Navy Yard, arriving there on 19 May, but was moved again on 1 June, this time to the US Navy Base at New London, CT, where it arrived on 5 June.

U-873 received the surrender order on 9 May when it was in the vicinity of the Azores. It should therefore have proceeded to Gibraltar to surrender, but the U-Boat headed south-west whilst the CO and crew decided what action to take. Finally, *U-873* surfaced and reported its position on 11 May, and was ordered to set course for Bermuda. The U-Boat proceeded in accordance with this instruction, and was met on 12 May by USS *Vance*. USS *Vance* then began escorting *U-873*, first to the 'Surrender Point' off Cape May, and then to the one further north in Casco Bay. However, the latter instruction was changed yet again, and the pair were directed to the 'Examination Anchorage' in Portsmouth Lower Harbour. The 1,600-mile passage from the Azores took place in heavy seas and lasted five and a half days before the U-Boat reached Portsmouth, where it arrived on 16 May.

U-1228 received the order to surrender on 9 May and, after surfacing and reporting its position in the mid-Atlantic, was initially instructed to head for St. John's, Newfoundland. On 11 May *U-1228* was located by the US Navy, but as the sea state made it inadvisable to board, the U-Boat was escorted towards the Casco Bay 'Surrender Point' rather than to Newfoundland. However, dense fog, icebergs and heavy seas on 12 May still prevented *U-1228* from being boarded until mid-afternoon. On 15 May the U-Boat and its escort USS *Scott* were then ordered to proceed directly to the 'Examination Anchorage' in Portsmouth Lower Harbour, arriving there on 17 May.

Two U-Boats surrendered from sea in Canadian and Newfoundland waters (*U-190* and *U-889*). The Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) had not made separate arrangements for the surrender of any U-Boats in the western North Atlantic, preferring instead to follow the procedures set out by the Admiralty and the Royal Navy's C-in-C WA. The RCN had however specified the two surrender points in Canadian and Newfoundland waters, and these had been included in the SHAEF *Special Orders*.

U-190 was returning to Germany from its patrol off the US east coast on 8 May, but did not become aware of the instructions to surrender until 11 May. It then surfaced, sent its PCS surrender signals, and headed west towards Canada. The U-Boat was intercepted by two RCN warships some 500 miles east of Cape Race, Newfoundland at about midnight on 11 May. It was boarded on 12 May, most of the crew was taken off, and the surrender document was signed. *U-190* was then escorted to Bay Bulls, near St John's on the east coast of Newfoundland, arriving there on 14 May.

On 10 May, an RCAF Liberator spotted *U-899* on the surface flying the black flag of surrender some 250 miles SE of the Flemish Cap, an area of shallow waters in the North Atlantic about 350 miles east of Newfoundland. Four RCN warships intercepted it and ordered it to head initially to Bay Bulls, near St John's on the east coast of Newfoundland. However, on 11 May *U-889* was re-directed to Shelburne in south-west Nova Scotia, where it was boarded and formally surrendered on 13 May.

The two U-Boats, *U-530* and *U-977*, surrendered from sea in Argentina. The COs of these two U-Boats had deliberately chosen to escape to Argentina rather than obey the Allies' surrender instructions, but very soon after their long transits and arrival in Mar del Plata they and their U-Boats were handed over to the local US diplomatic authorities.

U-530 had been on patrol to the east of New York in early May, but did not receive Donitz' cease-fire/recall message. Nor did it receive any surrender messages until 15 or 16 May. The CO nevertheless decided that the latter might not be genuine, and therefore opted to head for Argentina rather than to surrender in an American port. In the meantime, the US Navy believed that *U-530* had probably been sunk on 30 April, and was therefore no longer searching for the U-Boat. Thus *U-530* began its long covert transit south, arriving off the Argentinian port of Mar del Plata on the evening of 9 July 1945. However before entering the base, the CO ordered battery acid to be added to the lubrication system, and the diesel engines were run at high speed without full lubrication in order to sabotage them. At the same time, various components were removed or damaged, and electric wires were severed. The next morning (10 July) it became clear to the Argentine Navy that *U-530* wished to surrender and it was allowed to enter the Naval Base at Mar del Plata. On 12 July *U-530* was officially taken-over by the Argentine Navy, but on 17 July the Argentine Foreign Office decided to transfer *U-530* to the US Navy. Thus on 28 July *U-530* was towed to the Naval Base at Rio Santiago in Buenos Aires, arriving there on 29 July, prior to its hand-over to the US Navy.

U-977 had left Kristiansand in Norway on 2 May. Whilst it did not receive the recall order on 4 May, it was still in the Bergen area when the surrender order was received.

The CO nevertheless decided to disobey the order and to proceed to Argentina, but first left 16 married members of the crew ashore on an island north of Bergen on 10 May. The Allies were unsure of the fate of *U-977* for the remainder of May, but at the end of the month the 16 ex-crew members arrived in Bergen stating that they were the only survivors from *U-977* which, they said, had been wrecked near Bremanger on 9 May whilst returning from its patrol with a damaged periscope. Admiralty accepted the story and on 1 June confirmed to the US Navy that *U-977* had sunk after running aground in Norway. In the meantime, the undamaged *U-977* headed south and, after 107 days at sea, it was sighted on the surface off the port of Mar del Plata on the morning of 17 August by vessels of the Argentinian Navy. It was boarded and surrendered, being the last U-Boat to do so, and was then towed into the Naval Base. The US authorities were immediately notified of the surrender, and in late August *U-977* was moved, under its own power, to the Rio Santiago Naval Base in Buenos Aires, where it was formally handed over to the US Navy on 6 September.

As well as the nine U-Boats which surrendered from sea in the western Atlantic in May 1945, one other U-Boat was in the western Atlantic area in May 1945. *U-505* had been captured by the US Navy off the west coast of Africa on 4 June 1944 by a US Navy escort carrier task group. It was then towed, first by the aircraft carrier USS *Guadalcanal*, and then by the tug USS *Abnaki* to US Navy Operating Base at Port Royal Bay in Bermuda for technical examination. Because of the security imperative to create the illusion that it had been sunk rather than captured, *U-505* was temporarily renamed as USS *Nemo* and kept secretly in Bermuda for the remainder of the war. After its arrival in Bermuda on 19 June 1944, *U-505* was dry docked for the repair of the light damage that had occurred during its capture. Fortunately the US Navy was able return it to the water with an American crew for trials under the control of the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI). On 16 May 1945, just a week after VE Day, a US Navy Press Release told the American people the story of the capture of *U-505* for the very first time. *U-505* was then transferred from Bermuda to Philadelphia, arriving on 23 May, where it was released by the ONI and handed over to the US Navy's Commander Submarines Atlantic (ComSubLant).

The COs of four U-Boats at sea on 8 May chose to scuttle their vessels rather than obey the Allied surrender orders. Two U-Boats were on their way back to Germany, and two were heading for Portugal on the supposition that internment in a neutral country was preferable to captivity in the UK. These were:

U-287 - Scuttled in the Elbe Estuary on 16 May

U-963 - Scuttled off Nazare, Portugal on 20 May

U-979 - Scuttled off Amrum, N Frisian Islands on 24 May

U-1277 - Scuttled north west of Oporto, Portugal on 3 June

U-287 was patrolling to the east of the Orkneys in early May. It remained at sea after the formal surrender on 8 May 1945: the CO (Meyer) preferred to disregard the Allies' orders and to return to Germany rather than head for Loch Eriboll. *U-287* entered the Elbe Estuary on 16 May, where it was scuttled on the river bank off the village of

Altenbruch, some 10 km east of Cuxhaven. The crew went ashore hoping to escape detection and, when they were inevitably discovered, told the Allies that *U-287* had sunk after hitting a mine.

U-963 received Donitz' cease-fire/recall order, but before receiving the formal surrender order, it was damaged during an aircraft attack on 6 May 1945 whilst west of the Hebrides. As a result, *U-963* was said to be unable to send or receive any radio messages. The CO (Wentz) then decided to head south towards the Iberian Peninsula instead of returning to Norway. On the evening of 19 May when *U-963* was off Nazare (north of Lisbon) on the north-west coast of Portugal, the main pumps failed and the U-Boat began to settle. Wentz therefore ordered *U-963* to be scuttled in the early hours of 20 May.

U-979 was operating to the east of Iceland when it torpedoed a British tanker in early May. It was immediately counter-attacked with depth charges, but managed to escape with minor damage. The CO (Meermeier) decided to return to Bergen for repairs but, after receiving the surrender order, he decided to return to Germany instead. One of the U-Boat's propeller shafts was damaged, slowing the journey towards the western German ports at periscope depth. *U-979* eventually reached the North Frisian Islands (south-west of Denmark). The CO's intention was to anchor off Amrum Harbour prior to going ashore to investigate the situation, and then hopefully to escape capture. However, when manoeuvring just after midnight on 23/24 May near the southern tip of Amrum Island, the U-Boat ran aground at high tide on sandbanks close to the shore and could not be re-floated.

In early May, *U-1277* had orders to patrol in the Western Approaches. However, whilst the CO (Stever) had received and acted on the German cease-fire instruction on 4 May telling him to return to Norway, he decided that the subsequent surrender order and the other plain-language signals were not authentic. Instead, the U-Boat remained at sea in and around the Iceland-Faeroes gap whilst the CO considered what to do. By mid-May he had learned of the Allied occupation of Norway and the capitulation in Germany, but he was still loath to surrender. In Stever's view, Norway was no longer an option, and the lack of charts showing the minefields in the North and Baltic seas precluded a return to Germany. Stever therefore decided to head for a neutral country. Thus *U-1277* set course for Spain and Portugal and, after a mostly submerged journey, arrived in the vicinity of Cape Finisterre off the north-west corner of the Iberian Peninsula at the beginning of June. Stever's original intention had been to scuttle his U-Boat off Vigo in Spain, but instead he headed to Oporto in Portugal. At about midnight on 2/3 June, *U-1277* surfaced close to the shore north-west of Oporto where he scuttled his U-Boat.

Whilst in some British naval circles the scuttling of these four U-Boats was welcomed, others considered that as their COs had deliberately contravened the surrender orders they deserved to be punished, if only as an example to others. The CO of *U-1227* (Stever), the last to scuttle his U-Boat (almost four weeks after the end of the war), was charged and found guilty of deliberately failing to surrender as instructed and, specifically, of scuttling his U-Boat, actions for which he was sentenced in 1946 to imprisonment as a war criminal. The Admiralty and the British military authorities in Germany were initially inclined to prosecute the other three COs (Meyer of *U-287*,

Wentz of *U-963* and Meermeier of *U-979*). However, whilst preliminary work on the legal cases was initiated, no court actions transpired. As time passed, it no longer seemed necessary to make an example of another U-Boat commander.

In relation to the surrender of the U-Boats in Japanese waters, the Admiralty's Vice Chief of Naval Staff had advised the Royal Navy Commander-in-Chief East Indies on 5 May that:

It is not intended to include special orders for U-Boats in Japanese controlled waters.

If German naval authorities are co-operative, ANCXF [Allied Naval Commander Expeditionary Force] should instruct them to issue special orders to U-Boats in the Far East.

If German naval authorities will not co-operate, C-in-C East Indies should himself issue [suitable] special orders.⁵

After the German capitulation on 8 May and the initiation of the process for the surrender of the U-Boats still at sea, the Allies were therefore keen to ensure that any U-Boats still in the Far East followed a similar surrender procedure to those in the Atlantic. Thus, although it was not known that by then it was far too late, ANCXF advised the Admiralty on 12 May that the following instruction had been passed to the German naval authorities:

The German Naval High Command is to order all German U-Boats in or based on Japanese controlled harbours to leave such harbours. They are to proceed in the manner which the Commanding Officer sees fit until they are over 300 miles from such harbours, when they are to surface, fly a black flag or pennant, report their position in plain language to the nearest British, US or Soviet coast W/T station and proceed to the nearest Allied port, or such port as Allied representatives may direct, and remain there pending further directions from Allied representatives. At night they are to show lights.⁵

This instruction was followed-up by a message from BdU(Ops) on 16 May, specifically to the COs of *U-181*, *U-195*, *U-219* and *U-862* but, predictably, it produced no positive results, as not only had the Kriegsmarine U-Boats still in the Far East already been taken over by the IJN, but also because all of them were unfit to proceed to sea. This was confirmed in a message from the Royal Navy's Flag Officer Kiel to ANCXF on 17 May, saying:

German Naval HQ Kiel today informed me [that] High Command have complied with your 121100 and reported that only one of the German U-Boats in Japanese waters is fit for sea. This latter [U-183] has acknowledged the order.⁹

However, by that stage the fog of war had well and truly taken over, as the single U-Boat which was reported to be fit for sea had already been sunk in the Java Sea by a

US Navy submarine on 23 April 1945. Yet, despite this, it was reported to the Admiralty that *U-183*'s acknowledgement of the order to surrender had been made in mid-May when it was said to have been south of the Philippines and in transit to Fremantle in Western Australia. The net result was that none of the U-Boats in the Far East surrendered to the Allies in May 1945. Instead, the six U-boats (including the ex-Italian submarines *U-IT-24* and *U-IT-25*) became available for use by the IJN in early May. None of them were used operationally before the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945.

Eventually, when the war in the Far East ended in August 1945, seven of the Imperial Japanese Navy's (IJN) submarines which surrendered were either ex-German-built or ex-German-commissioned U-Boats (see Annex D). Of these, one (*U-511*) was already in the IJN in early May 1945, having been gifted to Japan by Germany in 1943. However, on 7 May the six others were handed over to the Japanese: two in Singapore (*U-181* and *U-862*), two in Java (*U-195* and *U-219*), as well as the two ex-Italian U-Boats which were undergoing repair and overhaul in Japan.

Finally, at the same time as the 21st Army Group's '*Instrument of Surrender*', which specifically included all naval vessels, was being signed on 4 May, a parallel US/UK policy came into effect, stating that any warships and merchant ships captured in north-west German and Danish ports prior to total German capitulation were to be treated as prizes. This therefore implied that the 21 U-Boats that had surrendered in Denmark and north-west Germany between 5 and 8 May would be solely at the disposal of whoever had captured them. Although this policy was primarily concerned with the future of German merchant shipping, it also referred to warships, and in this respect it was - confusingly - contrary to the agreement that the disposal of any German Navy vessels which surrendered would be subject to joint decisions by the three Allies.

The policy had been first set out in a directive (FACS 113) from the Combined US/UK Chiefs of Staff (CCS) to General Eisenhower at SHAEF on 4 December 1944, and it included in its paragraph 3 the statement:

*Captured enemy warships should be at the disposal of SCAEF who should refer to the Combined Chiefs of Staff for direction concerning their assignment.*¹⁰

As the end of the war in Europe approached, this policy was re-visited, primarily in relation to merchant ships, and on 20 April 1945 the UK Chiefs of Staff (COS) sent a message to the UK Joint Staff Mission in Washington, saying:

Following is proposed directive to SCAEF:

Unless otherwise directed FACS 113, paragraph 3 is to be applied to all German shipping captured by forces under your command in German ports before the surrender or declaration of defeat of Germany.

Shipping not required within your theatre is to be sailed as soon as possible to the United Kingdom.

Captured shipping is to be seized in prize.

Seizure in prize should be effected by the Naval Authorities in control of ports where ships are captured.

You will receive further instructions regarding the treatment of shipping falling into your hands upon surrender or declaration of defeat.

Warships should be disarmed, their flag lowered, and reference made to CCS in accordance with paragraph 3 of FACS 113.¹⁰

This was followed by a message from the Admiralty to ANCXF on 3 May saying:

Proposal to seize in prize German ships captured before cessation of hostilities was telegraphed to CCS on 20 April. Reply not yet received.

If policy of taking captured ships in prize is approved, intention is that this should be effected by Naval authorities controlling the ports concerned. Action must however await CCS directive.

Should urgent need arise of establishing claim to captured ships against Russians, e.g. in Lubeck, White Ensign should be hoisted under procedure in [the] Naval Prize Manual.¹¹

By early May 1945 thorough confusion reigned in northern Germany about which policy should be followed, viz:

9 May: 21st Army Group: *German seagoing ships captured at Lubeck are being claimed as prizes. Request instructions whether similar action should be taken at Kiel and Flensburg observing [that] this appears to be a partial surrender on the field of battle.*

9 May: Commodore Hamburg: *Unless orders to the contrary, propose to sail destroyer and German U-Boat to UK as soon as mine clearance has been completed. Request instructions with regard to remainder of ships.*

10 May: ANCXF: *No German warships, U-Boats or merchant ships are to be sailed to UK ports until further instructions are issued.¹¹*

Then, on the same day as the instruction that no ships were to be sailed to UK ports was issued, ANCXF sent a message to SHAEF and the Admiralty setting out the proposals for the disposal of German warships and merchant ships, viz:

All German Warships, Naval Auxiliaries and Merchant Ships which were in German ports, westward from Lubeck (inclusive), and in all Dutch and Danish ports at the time of surrender to 21st Army Group, or who entered these ports subsequently but previous to the general capitulation, should be dealt with as captured enemy ships in accordance with FACS 113,

*paragraph 3.*¹¹

In view of the need for clarity, but in effect achieving just the opposite, and after some urgent hastening action from London to Washington in view of the situation in Lubeck, CCS re-iterated the policy in a message (FACS 221) to General Eisenhower on 14 May, saying:

Unless otherwise directed paragraph 3 of FACS is to be applied to all German shipping captured by forces under your command in German ports before the surrender or declaration of defeat of Germany.

Accordingly all shipping not required within your theatre is to be sailed as soon as possible to the United Kingdom.

*Warships should be disarmed, their flag lowered, and reference made to the CCS in accordance with paragraph 3 of FACS 113.*¹⁰

Two additional developments on 15 May further confused the situation. First, ANCXF issued orders to the Naval Officers In Charge (NOIC) of the ports in Germany and Denmark saying:

*All German warships, naval auxiliaries and merchant ships which were in German ports, westward from Lubeck (inclusive), and in all Dutch and Danish ports at the time of the surrender to 21st Army Group, or who entered these ports subsequently but previous to the general capitulation, should be dealt with as captured enemy ships. Early arrangements will be made for sailing all the above to UK or Allied continental ports as ordered.*¹¹

It is therefore of little wonder that the NOICs in the ports were confused as to which action should be taken in respect of the 21 U-Boats and other German warships which had either surrendered or been captured. The ANCXF staff were confused, and this confusion was passed down the line.

On 15 May, a second complicating development arose in the Admiralty in London when the First Sea Lord in a paper submitted to the UK Chiefs of Staff (COS Paper (45) 338) said:

*SHAEF and the Admiralty consider that German shipping falling into our hands in Danish, North West German and Dutch ports, in consequence of the tactical surrender to 21st Army Group, should not be regarded as falling within the general surrender but as captured in the course of operations and assignable by the Combined Chiefs of Staff.*¹²

This policy, described in more detail in an attached draft memo to the Prime Minister, was driven more by anti-Russian politics rather than by military requirements. It said:

The orders given to the German Navy in pursuance of the act of unconditional surrender instruct shipping in harbour to remain there and

shipping at sea to proceed to the nearest German or Allied port. These orders, including detailed orders to U-Boats at sea, were agreed with the Russians and require shipping once in harbour to remain there pending further directions from the Allied Representatives. The movement of shipping falling into Allied hands in consequence of the act of unconditional surrender may therefore by implication be said to be a matter for decision by the Representatives of the Four [sic] Powers.

The Russians appear to be stripping the territories that they have overrun. The Combined Chiefs of Staff have, therefore, already approved that all German shipping captured in German ports before the general surrender, shall be subject to assignment as they direct, and it is our present intention, which is agreed by SHAEF, that this should be extended to cover also the shipping captured in Danish and Dutch ports at the time of surrender to 21st Army Group.

The object of this is both to strengthen our bargaining position with the Russians and to facilitate early employment of valuable troopers and other merchant shipping under the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board. An incidental result would be to give the Combined Chiefs of Staff power to assign German warships in Danish and North West German ports.¹²

Thus there was still confusion concerning the exact approach to be applied in respect of warships in general and the 21 U-Boats in particular. On the one hand, the CCS authorisation on 14 May said that warships would be disarmed, their flag lowered, and reference made to the CCS. But, on the other hand, both the ANXCF instruction and this UK COS Paper made it clear that warships in German and Dutch ports (including U-Boats) were to be treated as prizes, and that early arrangements would be made to sail them to UK or Allied-controlled continental ports.

The COS proposals, which went much further than the extant CCS agreement about the treatment of warships, were passed to Washington after approval on 16 May. They were included in a memorandum the primary purpose of which was to seek US support for the early transfer to the UK of the U-Boats which had surrendered in Norway on or after 9 May. Thus, even in mid-May there was still uncertainty as to how to handle the U-Boats that had been captured (or surrendered) in Germany and Denmark before 9 May.

Despite being fully behind the proposal, the Admiralty then sought to distance itself from the practical aspects of the policy that it had promoted only two days earlier. To this end, the Admiralty sent a message to Washington on 18 May implying that the prize policy in respect of all German warships captured in German and Danish ports prior to 9 May was the brain-child of ANXCF and SHAEF, saying:

Treatment of shipping as ordered by ANXCF seems to involve important point of policy but we understand SHAEF are not repeat not referring it to the CCS. As SHAEF's instructions entirely accord with our views and will enable captured shipping to be brought into service expeditiously we are inclined not repeat not to bring the issue before the CCS.

*CCS will inevitably have to consider the point sooner or later when dealing with assignment of warships and allocation of Merchant Ships. Request you consult and report whether you consider any serious difficulties are likely to arise from the fact that reference is not made now to CCS.*¹⁰

As requested, whilst the CCS agreed to the move of the U-Boats from Norway to the UK, they failed to react to the Admiralty's somewhat late Machiavellian suggestion aimed at thwarting Russian ambitions in respect of the U-Boats which had surrendered to 21st Army Group in Germany and Denmark. Thankfully, the British suggestion was quietly dropped, and it was assumed that the U-Boats which surrendered before 9 May fell into the same category as those which surrendered on or after 9 May. Thus they would all to be available for disposal as agreed by the three Allies. This was subsequently belatedly confirmed in a US Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) paper dated 5 July 1945, which included the statement:

*No distinction should be made between war vessels captured before or surrendering after the capitulation.*¹³

Arundel, W. Sussex, UK January 2018

Annexes

- A. The U-Boats which Surrendered in Port on 5 May 1945
- B. The U-Boats which Surrendered in Port on 9 May 1945
- C. The U-Boats which Surrendered at and from Sea - May to August 1945
- D. IJN ex-U-Boats which Surrendered in Port in the Far East in August 1945

Specific Sources: (*Editor's note.* Reference numbers below are repeated when they appear in the text instead of running continuously). The term u/s in Annex B means unseaworthy .

- 1. TNA Kew, DEFE 3/744 - Intercepted German Radio Communications, 5 to 24 May 1945
- 2. NARA Washington, RG 242 - Records of the German Navy, T-1022, PG-31801m
- 3. TNA Kew, DEFE 3/579 - German Naval Messages, 17 to 23 May 1945
- 4. TNA Kew, DEFE 3/578 - German Naval Messages, 3 to 17 May 1945
- 5. TNA Kew, ADM 199/2317 - Admiralty War Diary, 1 to 15 May 1945
- 6. TNA Kew, AIR 15/449 - Operation Pledge One
- 7. TNA Kew, HW 18/221 - German Naval Messages, March 1942 to May 1945
- 8. TNA Kew, ADM 223/21 - Admiralty Operational Intelligence Centre - U-Boat Situation Reports and Weekly Statements

9. NARA Washington, RG 313 - Records of ComNavEu - Surrender and Occupation of Germany
10. TNA Kew, CAB 122/824 - Policy for Surrender of German Fleet
11. TNA Kew, ADM 116/5512 - Disposal of German Fleet
12. TNA Kew, CAB 80/94 - Chiefs of Staff (COS) Memoranda, 23 April to 16 June 1945
13. Records of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1942-1945, The European Theater, UPA Microfilm Project (1981), Reel 9

Annex A

The U-Boats which Surrendered in Port on 5 May 1945

<i>U-143</i>	5 May	Heligoland, Germany
<i>U-145</i>	5 May	Heligoland, Germany
<i>U-149</i>	5 May	Heligoland, Germany
<i>U-150</i>	5 May	Heligoland, Germany
<i>U-368</i>	5 May	Heligoland, Germany
<i>U-720</i>	5 May	Heligoland, Germany
<i>U-1230</i>	5 May	Heligoland, Germany
<i>U-291</i>	5 May	Cuxhaven, Germany
<i>U-779</i>	5 May	Cuxhaven, Germany
<i>U-883</i>	5 May	Cuxhaven, Germany
<i>U-1103</i>	5 May	Cuxhaven, Germany
<i>U-1406</i>	5 May	Cuxhaven, Germany
<i>U-1407</i>	5 May	Cuxhaven, Germany
<i>U-2341</i>	5 May	Cuxhaven, Germany
<i>U-2356</i>	5 May	Cuxhaven, Germany
<i>U-2351</i>	5 May	Flensburg, Germany
<i>U-155</i>	5 May	Baring Bay, nr Fredericia, Denmark
<i>U-680</i>	5 May	Baring Bay, nr Fredericia, Denmark
<i>U-1233</i>	5 May	Baring Bay, nr Fredericia, Denmark

The U-Boats which Surrendered in Port on 9 May 1945

<i>U-170</i>	9 May	Horten, Norway
<i>U-874</i>	9 May	Horten, Norway
<i>U-975</i>	9 May	Horten, Norway
<i>U-1108</i>	9 May	Horten, Norway
<i>U-2502</i>	9 May	Horten, Norway
<i>U-2513</i>	9 May	Horten, Norway
<i>U-2518</i>	9 May	Horten, Norway
<i>U-3017</i>	9 May	Horten, Norway
<i>U-3041</i>	9 May	Horten, Norway
<i>U-3515</i>	9 May	Horten, Norway
<i>U-281</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-299</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-369</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-712</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-1163</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2321</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2325</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2334</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2335</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2337</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2350</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2353</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2354</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2361</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2363</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-2529</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway
<i>U-4706</i>	9 May	Kristiansand(S), Norway (u/s)
<i>U-294</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-295</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-312</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-313</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-363</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-427</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-481</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-668</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-716</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-968</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-997</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-1165</i>	9 May	Narvik, Norway
<i>U-298</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-324</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway (u/s)

<i>U-328</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-539</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-778</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-868</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-875</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-907</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-926</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway (u/s)
<i>U-928</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-930</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-991</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-1002</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-1004</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-1022</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-1052</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-1057</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-1061</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-1104</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-1202</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway (u/s)
<i>U-1271</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-1301</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-1307</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-2328</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-2506</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-2511</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-3514</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>UD-5</i>	9 May	Bergen, Norway
<i>U-310</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway (u/s)
<i>U-315</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway (u/s)
<i>U-483</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway
<i>U-773</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway
<i>U-775</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway
<i>U-861</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway
<i>U-953</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway
<i>U-978</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway
<i>U-994</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway
<i>U-995</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway (u/s)
<i>U-1019</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway
<i>U-1064</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway
<i>U-1203</i>	9 May	Trondheim, Norway
<i>U-637</i>	9 May	Stavanger, Norway
<i>U-1171</i>	9 May	Stavanger, Norway
<i>U-2322</i>	9 May	Stavanger, Norway
<i>U-2329</i>	9 May	Stavanger, Norway
<i>U-2345</i>	9 May	Stavanger, Norway
<i>U-2348</i>	9 May	Stavanger, Norway
<i>U-3035</i>	9 May	Stavanger, Norway

U-510 9 May St Nazaire, France (u/s)

Annex C

The U-Boats which Surrendered at and from Sea - May to August 1945
(Surrender and Arrival Dates)

U-806	6 May	From sea in Aarhus, Denmark on 6 May
U-1198	8 May	From sea in Cuxhaven, Germany on 8 May
U-245	9 May	From sea in Bergen, Norway on 9 May
U-249	9 May	From sea in Portland, UK on 10 May
U-278	9 May	From sea in Narvik, Norway on 9 May
U-318	9 May	From sea in Narvik, Norway on 9 May
U-802	9 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 11 May
U-805	9 May	From sea in Portsmouth, USA on 15 May
U-826	9 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 11 May
U-858	9 May	From sea in Lewes, Delaware, USA on 14 May
U-992	9 May	From sea in Narvik, Norway on 9 May
U-1009	9 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 10 May
U-1058	9 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 10 May
U-1105	9 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 10 May
U-1194	9 May	From sea in Cuxhaven, Germany on 9 May
U-1228	9 May	From sea in Portsmouth, USA on 17 May
U-2324	9 May	From sea in Stavanger, Norway on 9 May
U-293	10 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 11 May
U-516	10 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 14 May
U-532	10 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 13 May
U-541	10 May	From sea in Gibraltar on 12 May
U-825	10 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 13 May
U-889	10 May	From sea in Shelburne, Canada on 13 May
U-1023	10 May	From sea in Portland, UK on 10 May
U-1109	10 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 12 May
U-1272	10 May	From sea in Bergen, Norway on 10 May
U-1305	10 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 10 May
U-190	11 May	From sea in Bay Bulls, Newfoundland on 14 May
U-485	11 May	From sea in Gibraltar on 12 May
U-873	11 May	From sea in Portsmouth, USA on 16 May
U-956	11 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 13 May
U-1010	11 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 14 May
U-1231	11 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 13 May
U-2326	11 May	From sea in Dundee, UK on 14 May
U-3008	11 May	From sea in Kiel, Germany on 21 May

<i>U-218</i>	12 May	From sea in Bergen, Norway on 12 May
<i>U-234</i>	12 May	From sea in Portsmouth, USA on 19 May
<i>U-244</i>	12 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 14 May
<i>U-739</i>	13 May	From sea in Emden, Germany on 13 May
<i>U-764</i>	13 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 14 May
<i>U-901</i>	13 May	From sea in Stavanger, Norway on 15 May
<i>U-1102</i>	13 May	From sea in Hohwacht Bay, Germany on 13 May
<i>U-255</i>	14 May	From sea in Loch Eriboll, UK on 17 May
<i>U-776</i>	14 May	From sea in Portland, UK on 16 May
<i>U-1005</i>	14 May	From sea in Bergen, Norway on 14 May
<i>U-1110</i>	14 May	From sea in List, Sylt, Germany on 14 May
<i>U-2336</i>	15 May	From sea in Kiel, Germany on 15 May
<i>U-530</i>	10 July	From sea in Mar del Plata, Argentina on 10 July
<i>U-977</i>	17 Aug	From sea in Mar del Plata, Argentina on 17 August

Annex D

IJN ex-U-Boats which surrendered in Port in the Far East in August 1945

<i>U-181 (I-501)</i>	15 Aug	Seletar, Singapore
<i>U-195 (I-506)</i>	15 Aug	Surabaya, Java
<i>U-219 (I-505)</i>	15 Aug	Batavia, Java
<i>U-511 (RO-500)</i>	18 Aug	Maizuru, Japan
<i>U-862 (I-502)</i>	15 Aug	Seletar, Singapore
<i>U-IT-24 (I-503)</i>	15 Aug	Kobe, Japan
<i>U-IT-25 (I-504)</i>	15 Aug	Kobe, Japan

Canadian Nautical Research Society, Conference Abstracts and biographies, Toronto, June 2018

Great Lakes History:

Marti Klein

Marti Klein is a lecturer in the Liberal Studies department at California State University Fullerton, where she teaches social science and California Studies, combining the perspectives of the social sciences and the humanities. Research interests include topics related to the history of Alta California during the first half of the nineteenth century, such as the early history of the Mexican Navy, and the influences of the fur trade and slavery on foreign imperialism. She is also interested in the intersection of the social sciences and the humanities. Examples include her research on the influence of maritime literature and music on young men considering shipping before the mast, focused on R.H. Dana Jr.'s iconic travel narrative, *Two Years Before the Mast*; the sea songs of William S. Gilbert (of Gilbert & Sullivan); and a new definition of the music of the sea. Additional research interests concern situations in which alternative truths and infectious disease changed the course of maritime history. Ms. Klein is a member of the Canadian Nautical Research Society and she has written book reviews for the organization.

“Remembering Benjamin Godfrey Stimson – Pioneer of the Great Lakes Maritime Industry”

Benjamin Godfrey Stimson is perhaps best remembered as Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s shipmate and friend in the iconic American travel narrative, *Two Years before the Mast* (1840).

However, his role as a pioneer in the Great Lakes maritime community has been forgotten. Stimson did not hail from a seafaring family. After graduating from school, he ran away from home to work in a customs house prior to shipping before the mast. Although after two years as a seaman in the hide and tallow trade he was anxious to find another occupation, he did not want to go home, so he joined the large wave of Massachusetts migrants seeking new opportunities in Detroit, Michigan. His early life there is recorded in letters to Dana and in the memoirs of other Detroit pioneers.

Stimson devoted the rest of his life to the shipping industry. This paper explores the many significant contributions he made to the new Great Lakes maritime industry, and in public service to the City of Detroit and State of Michigan.

Aaron Mior

Aaron Mior is a Maritime Archaeologist employed with Golder Associates since 2010. He received a Bachelor of Arts Honours degree from the University of Toronto with a double major in Near Eastern Archaeology and the Archaeology Specialist Programs and a Master's degree in Maritime Archaeology from Flinders University in Adelaide, Australia. Aaron has been actively involved in archaeological investigations

for over fifteen years and his archaeological experience includes the excavation and recording of prehistoric and historic period sites with domestic, military and industrial specific components in the Middle East, Greece, Australia and Canada.

As part of his Graduate studies, Aaron investigated significant shipwreck and stranding events at Sable Island, Nova Scotia, a small island in the Atlantic Ocean with a rich maritime history. While employed at Golder Associates, Aaron has conducted maritime archaeological assessments in the Ottawa River, Niagara River, Rideau River, Trent-Severn Waterway, Bay of Quinte, Lake Ontario and Lake Nipissing investigating the potential of Indigenous and historic archaeologically significant resources for a variety of private and public clients.

A History of Vessel Construction within Toronto's Western Waterfront and the Potential of Archaeological Investigations within an Urban Maritime Landscape.

This paper will provide an overview of historic activities related to vessel construction along Toronto's Western Waterfront within the communities of Long Branch, New Toronto, Mimico and Humber Bay. Waterways provided primary transportation routes for both Indigenous communities and early Euro-Canadian colonists which necessitated the construction of reliable vessels to transport both people and goods. Vessel construction within Toronto's Western Waterfront originated with the arrival of Indigenous community members, with documented historical examples beginning in the 18th century and continuing with the construction of recreational vessels through the 20th century.

A significant portion of the data presented in this paper was assembled during the completion of a marine archaeological assessment encompassing Western Toronto's natural and artificial waterfront in 2017. In reviewing the historical vessel construction activities, this paper will also assess the potential to archaeologically investigate representative sites within Toronto's urbanized and developed maritime landscape.

Stephen Salmon

M. Stephen Salmon retired from Library and Archives Canada (LAC) in 2012 after more than 30 years of service. From 1989 to 2012 he was LAC's business archivist. He has published and presented papers worldwide on a variety of topics including acquisition theory, archival appraisal, and Canadian business and financial history. He has served on the editorial boards of peer reviewed journals in Canada and overseas. His current research focuses on the business history of Canadian Great Lakes shipping.

From Investment to Financialization: The Canadian Maritime Commission and Great Lakes Shipping, 1946 - 1970

Using hitherto untapped sources, this paper will analyze the financialization of Canadian Great Lakes shipping from 1946 to 1970. Support from the Federal government for investment in Great Lakes shipping evolved from near complete laissez faire in the immediate postwar period to favourable tax considerations that fostered the modernization of the Canadian Great Lakes fleet in the 1960s. By 1970, government

management of the market for ships had led to the financialization of shipping investment. Erstwhile ship owners were becoming merely ship operators, while financial institutions took over the role of ship owner.

The end of the Second World War saw the Canadian Great Lakes fleet in need of renewal. Only one new bulk carrier, a canaller, was built for the trade during the Great Depression and more than 60 canallers had not returned to the lakes from wartime service overseas. The last new laker had been built in 1929. Indeed, most lakera were former American tonnage that had been launched before 1914. However, in the initial post-war period the government was more concerned with developing an effective policy to support the wartime built ocean going merchant fleet, (known as the Park ships).

The Canadian Maritime Commission (CMC) was established in 1947 to promote this objective. As the deep sea fleet was battered by international competition this task, evolved to managing its downsizing. To promote shipbuilding and modernization of the obsolescent deep sea fleet, the CMC introduced the Replacement Plan, which forced the owners of the former Park ships to place the funds from the sale of these vessels in government controlled escrow accounts. But few ocean-going ships were financed with money from the escrow funds. Eventually, Great Lakes ship owners were allowed access to the escrow funds. However, more significantly the Canadian Vessel Construction Assistance Act (CVCA) of 1949 allowed accelerated depreciation on new vessels built in Canada. During the early 1950s Great Lakes ship owners took advantage of these two measures as they began to rebuild their fleets.

Yet the cyclical nature of Great Lakes shipping did not allow ship owners to take full advantage of accelerated depreciation. Thus, when the St. Lawrence Seaway opened in 1959, Great Lakes owners were not in a position to take full advantage of the improved infrastructure with its promise of increased demand for tonnage. The solution came not from the CMC, but rather from within the industry itself. The ship owners began peddling the accelerated depreciation to financial angels with fat balance sheets. The result was that by 1970 the Canadian Great Lakes fleet had been entirely rebuilt with new modern vessels. In the process, financial institutions and even distilleries became significant owners of tonnage in their own right.

Tri Tran

Dr Tri Tran (PhD, Habilit.) is the senior lecturer in British modern history at the University of Tours (France). He was educated at the University Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) and gained his doctorate from this institution in 1995; his doctoral dissertation studied the formation of the labour movement in the port of London in the 19th century. Since then, his research has been extended to naval history and the cultural and social lives of British working class communities. His postdoctoral works comprise several papers on British maritime history published in *The Mariner's Mirror* and in the *Revue d'Histoire Maritime*. He has recently given papers at the "Navy & Nation" maritime conference (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich 2014) and at the International Congress of Maritime History (Perth, 2016).

“Lake Champlain’s significance and the Revolutionary War”

Lake Champlain, before it controversially became the Sixth Great Lake in 1998, was a strategic location during the Revolutionary War: the lake enabled the British to control the route to British Canada and organize raids in New England against the American rebel colonies. Conversely the lake was the starting base of bold naval operations led by Benedict Arnold who intended to use Lake Champlain as a highway leading into Quebec. Arnold’s plans failed but nevertheless the Battle in the waters of Lake Champlain in October 1776 blocked the British army’s advance from Canada until July 1777 and paved the way to Saratoga, the turning point in the war.

Based upon papers about naval forces at Quebec, stored at the Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, and others kept at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, this contribution will emphasize the pivotal and often underestimated significance of Lake Champlain during the Revolutionary War.

Kimberly Monk

Monk is an adjunct professor in historical and maritime archaeology with Trent (Anthropology) and Brock (History), currently engaged in project work relating to Great Lakes history. Her research focuses on historical ship types, shipbuilding, and both naval and merchant shipping. She has directed over two dozen underwater field projects across North America, the Caribbean and the UK; and currently leading archaeological investigations of a 19th Century Shipyard in St. Catharines, in addition to underwater research at Penetanguishene.

“Whiskey, Trade and Shipwrecks: The Maritime Legacy of Gooderham and Worts”

The growth of brewing and distilling in Upper Canada coincided with increased immigration and agricultural productivity. The firm of Gooderham and Worts, established at York in the 1830s, had particular success in transitioning from its origins in milling, becoming one of the largest distilleries in the world. Its production of whiskey escalated through the 19th century, leading to a global export market, thereby increasing the company’s wealth and enabling ventures in banking, railways, and the arts. Its built legacy can be explored today along Toronto’s heritage corridor, and especially within the Distillery Historic District, a world heritage site.

Despite Gooderham and Worts’ importance to our national heritage, what remains unexplored is the company’s impact on maritime history. Its trade and shipping ventures included vessel ownership, agricultural imports, and whiskey exports, which reveal the considerable risk borne by the company, regularly affected by tariffs, taxes, market fluctuations, consumer action, and losses at sea. Examining the nature of its maritime networks is crucial to understanding the shifting dynamics of the trade in consumptives and its impact on local and international markets. This paper will synthesize shipping and company history with ship biographies, and examine preliminary archaeological results of the *Marquette*, consigned with a cargo of corn for the company, when she was lost in 1867.

Walter Lewis

Walter Lewis holds an MA from Queen's University where his thesis was on the passenger steamboat services on Lake Ontario and the upper St. Lawrence in the mid-nineteenth century. He has been a member of CNRS since 1983, and is at present the production editor of *The Northern Mariner/le marin du nord*. He is also on the board of directors of the Association for Great Lakes Maritime History and has spoken about the Lakes for a wide range of audiences.

Steam comes to the Great Lakes, 1815-1825

The ten years following the War of 1812 saw a major transformation in the Great Lakes region, and the business of transportation within it. Foremost among the changes was the introduction of steamboats on the Lake, in a variety of sizes delivering a range of services. This paper looks at the political and legal context, the organization of the necessary capital, the management challenges, the technical issues and the issues around recruiting and retaining the necessary skilled crew members

Bruce Kemp

Bruce Kemp is an internationally known writer and photographer. Early in his career, while working on story about one of William Roue's big schooners, he inadvertently ended up as the chief diver on the effort to raise and restore it. The ship, *Blue Dolphin*, became the focus of a song by Stan Rogers. Bruce was the editor of *Sailing Canada Magazine*, *Travel a la Carte Magazine* and *SailOntario* magazine as well as being a regular columnist (yachting) in the *Toronto Star's* sports department. He spent the last quarter century roaming the world taking photographs and writing feature stories for a number of different magazines including *Wooden Boat*, *Sailing World* and *Boat Guide*. Along with a distinguished media career that includes numerous regional, national and international awards for coverage of a wide range of subjects from fine dining in Europe, to the America's Cup and voyages through the fabled Northwest Passage he has spent time refitting and sailing on a number of Lakers. His love for nautical history and big ships comes from his earliest childhood memories when his dad, Howard a navy veteran, would point out the national flags on ships passing by on the St. Clair River giving him his earliest geography lessons and infecting him with a grand desire to see the places those ships came from. Previous books include: *The Complete Travel Writer*, the *Ports Cruising Guide To Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair*, updates to the *Ports Cruising Guide to the Rideau Canal* and the historical novel *Letters From A Fugitive's Son* about a young black man from the fugitive slave settlement of Buxton (Ontario) who joins Sherman's army for the fall of Atlanta and the March to the Sea.

The Great Storm of 1913 on the Great Lakes

In the dark hours of November 9, 1913, death screamed across the Great Lakes in the guise of a rare, white hurricane. The Storm brutalized the region for most of the

following week leaving in its wake cities crippled by devastating snowfalls, paralyzed communications, mysteries that remain unsolved to this day and the corpses of 256 men and women from twelve of the largest ships on the fresh water seas.

Taking its storyline from interviews with the few remaining survivors – like the Stratford senior who skipped school to help collect bodies off the beach, the Michigan woman who tried to chop the Storm in two with an axe and the little girl who hid all day under the kitchen table waiting for word of her captain father – Bruce Kemp collected as many living memories of the event as possible then fleshed them out with period media reports making *Weather Bomb 1913* an accurate recounting of the causes and costs of the Storm.

Along with material garnered from archives, museums and libraries, he interviewed ships' captains who know the Lakes intimately. Kemp also worked with meteorologists from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration to present and interpret brand new computer modelling of the Storm they've branded "the worst natural disaster ever to hit central North America..."

Largely forgotten today, the Storm of 1913 was an important event in the history of the Great Lakes. It should be part of the fabric of the regional and national cultural fabric of both the United States and Canada.

Early Modern England

Sam McLean

Sam McLean completed his PhD in 2017 at King's College London, where his studies focused on the documents that defined the Royal Navy from 1660 to 1749. Sam is the Social Media Editor for www.GlobalMaritimeHistory.com, which he uses to provide an online forum for early career researchers to publish short-form content about a wide variety of maritime history and academic process topics. His current focus is the ADM 8 Database Project, and the creation of an online research tool to browse and query disposition lists from the period 1673-1692. He can be found on Twitter @Canadian_Errant

"Shifting Expertise: The Royal Navy and Professional Certification, 1660-1749"

In the 1670s the Royal Navy began to actively define how institution-specific professional certifications were to happen, and who was to certify RN officers. After the Glorious Revolution, those definitions changed more than once as the Royal Navy faced different pressures. This paper will look at the origins for those definitions and how they changed over time.

Margaret Schotte

Margaret E. Schotte is an assistant professor of history at York University, focusing on early modern history of science and the history of the book. Her forthcoming monograph, *Sailing School: Navigating Science and Skill*, is a comparative

study of the development and dissemination of Dutch, English, and French sailors' navigational practices—in the classroom, on board ship, and across international borders. This book traces the impact of print culture on navigational instruction, and reconsiders the rise of mathematics in European intellectual and artisanal cultures. She holds a B.A. from Harvard University, an M.A. from the University of Toronto, and a Ph.D. from Princeton University. She has published on the “science” of navigation, logbooks and ship’s instruments. @SchotteMargaret www.margaretschotte.com

Too Much Math for Mariners? Revisiting the Royal Mathematical School Curriculum

During the early modern period, European governments, navies, and merchant companies desperately needed more skilled navigators. However, they struggled over how best to teach this traditional subject—on board ship or in schools? In this new analysis of the records of the Royal Mathematical School, we can recover details about how the famous ‘blue coat boys’ were actually trained in the 1680s—and this in turn, can help us understand more about technical education, hydrography and the science of navigation in the Age of Sail.

This paper explores a debate among Isaac Newton, Samuel Pepys, and other experts over the ideal curriculum for the RMS. Unexpectedly, we find that 17th-century students did a surprising amount of hands-on learning in the classroom. When it came to navigational training, there was no sharp divide between theory and practice. Mariners were exposed not just to trigonometry and Latin grammar, but also to drawing compasses, globes, and paper instruments. Even at this early date, experts recognized that sailors could best develop their skills through a hybrid form of education.

Jason Grier

Jason Grier is a historian of science and technology and recently completed a PhD at York University entitled “Navigation, Commercial Exchange and the Problem of Long-Distance Control in England and the English East India Company, 1673-1755.”

Contesting Expertise: The Royal Mathematical School Examinations, 1675-1695

The Royal Mathematical School in Christ’s Hospital was established in 1673 for the purpose of training boys in mathematics and navigation for the improvement of the Royal Navy. The school’s early years, however, were fractious and difficult. It quickly became apparent that there was no clear sense of what the curriculum should be or who was best qualified to serve as schoolmaster. Moreover, difficulty finding apprenticeships for the boys led to the conclusion that formal certification of their competence was needed and it was decided that the boys would be subjected to an examination by a qualified mariner supplied by Trinity House. These examinations were almost immediately a site of tension between the examiners and the mathematical masters at Christ’s Hospital. The examinations served as a site of contest between mariners and the mathematical school’s instructors. In this paper I show how the failure of students in their examinations was interpreted by the mathematical masters as a direct challenge to their expertise as schoolmasters.

Naval History

Nicholas Kaizer

Nick was born and raised in the Annapolis Valley and completed a degree in history at Acadia University before completing a Master's Degree at Dalhousie University under the supervision of Dr. Jerry Bannister. Nick focused on the culture of the British Royal Navy during the Napoleonic era, a subject of interest for over a decade. His latest works particularly focused on the impact of the surprising single ship action defeats in the War of 1812 on the culture of the Royal Navy, by then accustomed to victory.

"It is with deepest regret:" Reporting and reconciling loss in a navy accustomed to victory

Using naval correspondence and courts martial records, this chapter will highlight themes and trends of the Nelson naval culture in a time of defeat. Following two decades of exceptional success, the naval officers involved in the first year of operations against the American Navy found themselves frustrated and humiliated. This paper will focus upon five naval actions and defeats which reveal the expectations and characteristics of Nelson's Navy. The iconic aggressive ethos and stalwart sense of duty and gallantry are still present, but intertwined with a strong sense of humanity and regret.

Paul Mansell

Paul is a Master's student at Wilfrid Laurier University. He specializes in mid-18th century naval history. This paper is a synopsis of the Master's Major Research Paper that he is researching under the supervision of Dr. Roger Sarty. He has worked as an engineering designer most of his life and has been a student at Laurier since 2010.

How to Solve an Unsolvable Problem: The Royal Navy's Response to the Typhus Epidemic of 1739-42

Throughout the 18th century the Royal Navy struggled against typhus as an incurable disease. It solved the problem of this contagious disease in the absence of a scientific solution and despite having little success against large-scale epidemics prior to it. During the first year of the War of Jenkins' Ear, the navy sent 25,000 seamen to medical quarters. Of those, 15,868 sick and wounded were deposited in Portsmouth and Plymouth, completely swamping the facilities of those English naval towns. This proved to be a minor problem compared to the devastation wrought by two particular Royal Navy ships. In February 1740, HMS *Panther* and HMS *Canterbury* entered into Plymouth harbour carrying typhus and the disease spread throughout the town, initiating "the Great Sickness".

By the summer of 1741 a typhus epidemic raged across Britain. London experienced the greatest death rate since the Great Plague of 1665-6, making it the second largest epidemic in early modern British history. The blame for this epidemic

was directed at the Royal Navy, specifically its flawed methods for dealing with seamen who fell ill. In the aftermath, the navy abandoned its *ad hoc* system of contracted health care and began to take responsibility for its diseased and injured seamen. The establishment of the Royal Navy hospitals at Portsmouth (1745) and Plymouth (1760) initiated a new approach in the battle against disease. The building of these massive facilities and changes in medical organizational procedures, including hygienic practices and isolation wards, marked the origin of the modern naval hospital.

Sharon Wall

Sharon is an Associate Professor in the Department of History, University of Winnipeg. She published a monograph entitled *The Nurture of Nature. Childhood, Antimodernism and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-1955* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009) and has received prizes from the Canadian Historical Society, the Champlain Society, and the Canadian History of Education Association. This paper forms part of a larger SSHRC-funded project (2017-19) entitled: "Putting up a Good Front: Masculinity, Military Men, and their Families in Cold War Canada."

"A Sailor's Life is Rugged, You've got to be quick and tough": Naval Work, Masculinity, and the "Good Life" in Early Post-war Canada

In the 1950s and early 60s, the Canadian state built up the largest peacetime military the country had ever known. While scholars have started to explore this history in a general way, there is little scholarship which analyzes post-war military service as work. This paper does so by focusing on the experiences of naval men (including, where possible, Indigenous men). It explores the motivations of young recruits, something of their training, and the work they performed. It analyzes narratives of work at sea as adventure-filled, sometimes dangerous, and figuratively (and literally!) horizon-expanding, but also the unique privations, and sometimes sheer boredom that were daily realities. Special attention will be paid to how Navy personnel defined their work in masculine terms, despite the fact that it frequently entailed aspects - like domestic labour and other mundane repetitive work - typically associated with "the feminine."

Thomas Malcomson

Thomas Malcomson, PhD, taught for 32 years as a professor in the School of Liberal Arts and Sciences, at George Brown College, Toronto. Thomas has produced numerous articles on naval and maritime subjects, with a primary focus on the final years of the long 18th century and the War of 1812. His latest book was *Order and Disorder in the British Navy, 1793-1815: Control, Resistance, Flogging and Hanging* (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2016). Current projects include tracing the stories of individual Black Refugees from slavery to freedom during the War of 1812, and exploring the roles played by Sir Edward W C R Owen and William F Owen in the surveying of the lower Great Lakes, 1815 to 1817.

"1815 the Missing Year in a Most Distinguished Career: Sir Edward William Campbell Rich Owen's Post War Command on the Great Lakes" (Also Great Lakes)

In four major summaries of his life's work, the naval biographies by William O'Byrne and John Marshall, the biography for members of the British Parliament (he sat for Sandwich from 1826 - 1829), and his obituary in *Gentlemen's Magazine* (1849), there is absolutely no mention of Sir Edward William Campbell Rich Owen's time served as Commodore of the Great Lakes Naval Establishment. Nor is his name readily attached to the survey of the Great Lakes, being overshadowed by that of Henry W. Bayfield.

Sir Edward spent 1815 on the lakes, a crucial period for the British Navy on the Inland Seas. Owen undertook rapid downsizing of the naval resources (human and material), while positioning resources in ordinary for quick access. The same year saw the gigantic undertaking of surveying all the Great Lakes for the Admiralty, which competed for his time and energy. Though his brother William Fitzwilliam Owen was the senior officer in the survey group, Sir Edward kept a hand in the activity and produced a massive report describing the coasts and major rivers of Lakes Ontario, Erie, the eastern shore of Lake Huron, and portions of Georgian Bay. Sir Edward's report commented on natural resources, possible sites for settlements, locations for canals and safe anchorages, on the nature of those already living along its shoreline, and on the defence of Upper Canada.

This paper will examine Sir Edward Owen's role in creating the peace time naval establishment and his critical contributions to the surveying of the Lower Great Lakes. Hopefully it will serve to fill in the missing year in what was a most distinguished career.

Richard Goette

Dr. Richard Goette is an aerospace power academic and Canadian air force historian. He is currently an assistant professor in the Department of Defence Studies at the Canadian Forces College (CFC) in Toronto, where he holds the position of Deputy Chair of the Department of Military Planning and Operations. At CFC he lectures on air power, command, targeting, and joint operations, and teaches on the Joint Command and Staff Program (JCSP) and National Security Program (NSP), in addition to being a Masters of Defence Studies (MDS) supervisor. Richard is a member of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) Association and is an Associate Editor-in-Chief of the association's flagship publication, *Airforce* magazine. He is also a member of the CNRS and a Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies (LCMSDS) Research Associate. He is currently conducting research on air power issues related to the RCAF as a professional military institution, command and control, targeting, maritime air power, air mobility (airlift and Search-and-Rescue), "soft" air power, and the Arctic. His first book, *Sovereignty and Command in Canada-US Continental Air Defence, 1940-57* will be published with the University of British Columbia Press in April 2018.

RCAF 113 (BR) Squadron and the Battle of the St. Lawrence, 1942

Canada's sustainment of Allied forces overseas by means of shipping was a vital contribution to the Second World War. Several vessels came from the Great Lakes and transited the St. Lawrence River and Gulf to re-supply spots along the way or

culminate at convoy gathering ports such as Sydney or Halifax for the North Atlantic voyage. When German U-boats entered the St. Lawrence in 1942 with the intention of sinking these vessels, it fell upon Canadian naval and maritime air forces to protect shipping in what became known as the Battle of the St. Lawrence. As Roger Sarty has demonstrated in his book on the subject, these Canadian forces were more effective against the German submarines than originally believed at the time. My paper will discuss the most successful Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) maritime patrol unit interdicting the U-boat attacks on shipping transiting the St. Lawrence, 113 Bomber Reconnaissance (BR) Squadron.

No. 113 Squadron employed Lockheed Hudson aircraft built in the United States and delivered to the RCAF at the beginning of the war. The squadron implemented innovative maritime air power methods and tactics such as higher patrol heights, painting of the aircraft white, and using High Frequency Direction Finding (HF/DF) intercepts to locate, surprise, and attack enemy submarines. In the process of doing so, the squadron greatly hampered U-boat operations and sunk one of their number; saving an unknown number of ships – and the souls aboard them – from a horrible death at sea. Between June and November 1942 alone, 113 Squadron carried out no less than 12 attacks on German U-boats, which was more than all other squadrons in Eastern Air Command combined. Thus, 113 Squadron RCAF definitely did its part in frustrating U-boat captains' efforts to sink allied shipping in 1942.

Vladyslav Malska

Vladyslav Malska is a Master's candidate at Dalhousie University, where, under the direction of Christopher M. Bell, he is completing a thesis on the U.S. Navy's 1903-1923 reservations about aviation. His interest in this work grew out of a fascination with the constraints upon the adoption of major technologies, which he pursued in his undergraduate studies at Wilfrid Laurier University. Vladyslav is currently contemplating a return to Canadian subject matter, perhaps to the development of civil aviation.

The Battle of Sable Island: A Snapshot of U.S. Navy Tactics in 1923

With a massive fleet borne of commitments to a vast empire, and a highly advantageous position at the North Sea's entrance to the Atlantic Ocean, First World War Britain enjoyed supremacy on the waves. Not only in warships but also in the merchant marine was Britain the world's eminent power. This superiority masked a crucial detail: its tardy ally in the war, the United States, was an economic behemoth, having a year after Armistice an output greater than Europe's. As American trade continued to spread around the globe, Britain, with its prosperity reliant upon that very activity, feared it might soon find its markets reduced. By 1923, action could be delayed no longer. At the end of April, many British light cruisers, destroyers, plane carriers, and submarines arrived in Halifax, to be soon joined there by the main British fleet. Together, they would drive American shipping from the Atlantic Ocean. But the United States declared war, intercepted the British fleet, and defeated it.

This was the reasoning behind, and the result of, The Battle of Sable Island. Fought on a game board by the U.S. Naval War College Class of 1924, it was one of the Navy's earliest efforts to educate its future leaders after the College's closure

during the Great War. As such, it undoubtedly deserves a reputation as one of the pillars of modern, computerized war gaming at the College. Yet, of all the College's inter-war games, it is the only one which has been mentioned—and mentioned repeatedly—in naval literature. The reason lies in an unproven claim made by the instructor: in 'Sable Island', an inferior American fleet triumphed chiefly through more effective use of planes for fire control: watching the fall of shot and correcting ship aim. This is too simple a characterization. While aviation undoubtedly played a part, 'Sable Island' was an enormous fleet action which featured almost every conceivable type of ship and weapon. Whatever the Navy did not have, officers imagined. My paper will showcase the game's true value: a treasure trove of tactics with which the Navy hoped to preserve American commercial superiority in a fragmented yet promising post-war world.

Joseph Zeller

Joseph Zeller is a graduate of Wilfrid Laurier and has recently completed his PhD in History at the University of New Brunswick while studying under Dr. Marc Milner. He also completed a Master's of Strategic Studies under the supervision of Dr. Holger Herwig.

A Study of Contrast: British and German Prize Courts in the First World War

The European theatre of the Second World War is often defined by its combat. However, the journey to those battlefields was across a sea passed two very different types of blockade. Both British and German blockades attempted to restrict the access of supplies, support and manpower to their enemy. Blockades were a central facet of wartime proceedings and helped to determine the eventual outcome of hostilities. Over time the outcry of allies and neutrals who felt they had been wronged by these blockade operations became a major international concern with potentially severe ramifications for both British and German war efforts.

British and German Prize Courts acted as a safety valve which allowed mistakes to be remedied and grievances to be addressed. They were a central institution to maintain and develop national blockade efforts and one of the most important means of interaction with neutral nations abroad. Each decision made by the prize courts of these adversaries characterized and reflected the impact of their blockading efforts. Justice was made to serve policy for both nations but whereas the British foreign office came to dominate administration of British Prize Law, the German system became increasingly influenced by the need to justify and support the military activities of its U-boats. Both institutions were trying to support their respective war efforts, but the differences in character, execution and influence led to major divergence in practice which I will explore in detail.

Garison Ma

Garison Ma is currently a fourth-year undergraduate student who will be attending graduate studies at Wilfrid Laurier University in September. He is interested in the study of military history and international affairs.

Ships Ahoy: The Procurement of the Halifax-class Frigates by the Pierre Trudeau Government

In December 1977, the Pierre Trudeau government announced its intention to procure six new frigates for Maritime Command, an announcement which initiated the Canadian Patrol Frigate program. The result of the program is the *Halifax*-class frigates, a class of multi-purpose warships which have been the mainstay of the Canadian Navy for the past three decades and remain the single most expensive military procurement program to date. Their arrival helped restore Canada's naval capabilities, which had been in serious decline due to heavy budgetary austerity in the preceding decades. The first major naval procurement in over a decade, it capped the splurge of defence spending in the 1970s, which also saw the Liberal government purchase the Leopard C1 MBT and the CF-188 Hornet fighter jet. Pierre Trudeau had never been regarded as a strong supporter for the military and was often apathetic to its needs. Given this reputation, what prompted him to completely reverse his policies in the mid-1970s? Furthermore, how did the Generals of Maritime Command convince the government to begin the lengthy and costly process of purchasing new warships?

The answer to Trudeau's policy shift can be attributed to a variety of factors. However, the influence of West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt cannot be understated. Trudeau was previously convinced that largely symbolic contributions to NATO would allow Canada to maintain its standing amongst its allies. Schmidt convinced Trudeau, who was looking to foster trade agreements with Western Europe, that tangible military contributions were necessary to forge closer relations. As Frank Maas demonstrated in *The Price of Alliance: The Politics and Procurement of Leopard Tanks for Canada's NATO Brigade*, this ultimately resulted in the procurement of the Leopard tanks for the Canadian brigade in Europe. At the same time, Maritime Command, with its rapidly declining fleet, made a similar argument that if Canada wanted to be regarded as contributing member of NATO, new vessels would be necessary. Thus, the birth of the *Halifax*-class frigates.

Other Maritime History

Jeff Noakes

Dr. Jeff Noakes has been the Second World War historian at the Canadian War Museum since mid-2006. He is responsible for historical content in the museum's Second World War gallery, and until 2016 was one of two historians jointly responsible for historical content in the War Museum's LeBreton Gallery, which displays the museum's collection of large military artifacts. He has also been the historian on museum teams responsible for creating or adapting a number of temporary and online exhibitions, and is the curator for the William James Roué Collection at the Canadian Museum of History.

A graduate of the University of Western Ontario, the University of New Brunswick, and Carleton University, he has worked as a researcher on subjects related to Canada's military and diplomatic history during the twentieth century, and has presented numerous conference papers on these subjects. He is also the author or

joint author of books, book chapters, exhibition catalogues, and articles on subjects related to the First World War, the Second World War, the Cold War, and the Arctic. Along with Janice Cavell, he is co-author of *Acts of Occupation: Canada and Arctic Sovereignty, 1918-25*, published by UBC Press.

A Diverse Talent: William James Roué, 1879-1970

William James Roué (1879–1970) is arguably Canada’s best-known naval architect, and designer of the iconic schooner *Bluenose*. Born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Roué was fascinated by boats from a young age. He was largely self-taught, and took classes in drafting to acquire the drawing skills necessary for naval architecture. *Bluenose* was one of Roué’s early designs, although he was already over 40 by the time the famous schooner was launched. This paper will examine William Roué’s career, focusing on its aspects outside of *Bluenose*, which has already been the subject of numerous articles and books. It is a preliminary study, still very much in progress, and will be based on research in the William James Roué Collection at the Canadian Museum of History as well as in other archival and secondary sources.

Stephen Hay

Hay is a maritime historian of the eighteenth century northeast who specializes in histories of contact and communications. He wrote an MA thesis on the Labrador fisheries of the eighteenth century at Dalhousie University where Jerry Bannister supervised his work. He is currently completing a PhD dissertation on communications by New England sailors during the eighteenth century at the University of British Columbia, where Daniel Vickers and Coll Thrush supervise his work. His most recent publication is in *Acadiensis*, titled, “*How to Win Friends and Trade with People: Southern Inuit, George Cartwright, and Labrador Households, 1763-1809.*” The funders of his research have included the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, the John Carter Brown Library, and the Social Sciences Research Council of Canada. He is a settler in Canada grew up in on the Great Lakes in Owen Sound, Ontario, in Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabeg traditional territory.

Borderlands before the Mast: Wampanoag and Afro-Wampanoag Maritime Workers during a time of Indian Wars, 1742-1765

In addition to the western and eastern frontiers, the borderlands of the early Northeast extended into the forecastle and even the households of seafaring peoples. This paper asks how Wampanoag whalers and domestic workers lived and worked in the settler whaling and household economies of early Cape Cod prior to the American Revolution. Academics know little about workers in the settler fisheries and whaling industries of the Northeast prior to the American Revolution than for the period of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This paper follows the examples of Ellen Hartigan-O’Connor and others to analyze about how households organized the economies of early fisheries and ports.

Instead of studying Indigenous workers in the aggregate based on wage data, the paper compiles and contextualizes references to individuals named in the daily diary that the Benjamin Bangs kept between 1742 and 1765 while he worked as a whaler

and later a merchant on Cape Cod. Cases from the Dukes County Court of Common Pleas further verify and contextualize the diary. First, this paper reconstructs the work of Wampanoag whalers who worked alongside Bangs when he was a whaler or who Bangs employed after he became a merchant. Second, this paper reconstructs the work of Wampanoag and Afro-Wampanoag domestic workers in Bangs' household, especially Hannah Nutcup, an Afro-Wampanoag slave. Third, this paper contrasts Bangs' familiarity with Wampanoag workers against his anxieties about Indian Wars in the "Eastern Parts" of Maine and the Canadian Maritimes, conflicts that historians now understand included contests over ocean resources.

Cathy Enright

Cathy Enright is a Fellow in Board Governance from the Canadian Board Diversity Council (CBDC). She has dedicated her career to having consumers' voices heard and has been recognized for her "Life Long Contribution" by the Ontario Home Economic Association. She is the Secretary Treasurer of the Association. Beginning her career in the private sector, Cathy directed a national publicity, complaint and liaison service for customers and clients of a large food manufacturer. After joining the public service she has held several positions and retired as the Director of Consumer Services and Outreach at Industry, Science and Economic Development, Canada. Cathy has worked extensively to protect the rights of consumers through strategic communications. In addition, she directed a Contribution Program, which provides funding for research and development for non-profit and consumer, voluntary organizations. As a result of her accomplishments, she has received a number of awards, including the Deputy Minister Award for Innovation, as well as "Mentor of the Year" from the University of Alberta. Cathy's mentoring endeavours continue with both public and private sector young people with an interest in communications, public relations and government relations. Cathy continues her volunteer efforts in both Church and school communities in various capacities. She is a member of the Program Advisory Committee for the Bachelor of Public Relations at Conestoga College. Married to a professional accountant, Cathy is a vocally proud mother of three adult children.

Halifax Harbour Pilot Captain Lamont Power, MBE, 1906-1954

Captain Lamont "Mont" Power MBE remains the longest serving pilot in Halifax and his legacy lives forever in his meticulously kept, handwritten, daily log spanning 48 years. Canadians will find in the log an important record of our history, the names of ships that carried families to war and home again or ships that landed at Pier 21 as immigrants saw their first glimpse of Canada. The majority of over 8,000 entries are the names, tonnage, captains and origins of the ships he guided in and out of the harbour. He recorded two World Wars, the explosion, the sinking of the pilot boat, the glory of piloting the Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth to mention but a few.

Tzvi Benoff

Tzvi Aryeh Benoff is a graduate student at Yeshiva University's Bernard Revel Graduate School for Judaic Studies studying modern history, as well as a U.J.A. Graduate Fellow at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary studying law and

philosophy. Tzvi's primary academic interests are legal philosophy, historical sociology, and rabbinic literature.

Smooth and Striated: A Sociopolitical Model for Comparing Western and Eastern Piracy

For millennia, Western civilization has seen piracy as a lawless, anti-state institution. Historians have argued that this perspective was not shared by many countries in Southeast Asia, noting the lack of anti-piracy legislation as well as a tacit acceptance of maritime piracy in certain regions and governments. Instead, such historians assert that the European explorers and merchants imported the notion of piracy to Asia and used it as a moral and legal justification for the colonialization that occurred during the Age of Imperialism. However, evidence indicates that piracy laws did exist in certain Asian countries such as China during the Ming Dynasty. By modifying a sociopolitical model (known as the "smooth/striating maritime model") for political dominance developed by Felix Guattari, one concludes that piracy was recognized as morally reprehensible in both European and Asian countries. The primary difference between the two regions' responses to it was a manifestation of their different conceptions of how to address political and military threats. To the West, pirates were the anti-state, a threat to economic and political hegemony which needed to be eviscerated and civilized. To China, pirates were a barbaric threat that needed to be blocked by a wall of internal political and militaristic fortification.

Canadian Museum of History Franklin Exhibit

In May 1845, Sir John Franklin set sail from Britain in command of the most ambitious Northwest Passage expedition ever initiated by the Royal Navy. The Expedition's two ships and 129 men never returned. Now, 173 years later, the Canadian Museum of History invites visitors to explore one of history's most enduring mysteries in the new exhibition, *Death in the Ice – The Mystery of the Franklin Expedition*, presented from March 2 to September 30, 2018.



Through historical artifacts and Inuit oral histories, *Death in the Ice* provides the most comprehensive account to date of Franklin's final voyage, and brings together more than 200 objects among others from the collections of the Canadian Museum of History and the National Maritime Museum in Britain.

For the first time, iconic objects recovered in the decades following the Franklin Expedition are displayed alongside new information and objects other objects brought to light as a result of an ongoing collaboration between Parks Canada and the Government of Nunavut. This partnership contributed to the recent discovery of the Expedition's two ships: HMS *Erebus* in 2014 and HMS *Terror* in 2016. In a world first, the

Canadian Museum of History will be displaying a portion of the ship's wheel from HMS *Erebus*, recovered from the wreck.

"We are very pleased to be presenting this compelling story, which has had such a profound impact on our nation's geography, identity and imagination," said Mark O'Neill, President and CEO of the Canadian Museum of History. "We are particularly pleased to highlight the critical role Inuit have played in the Franklin story, from the years immediately following the Expedition's loss to recent discoveries of the ships. Though much of what happened to the Expedition remains a mystery, what we do know is largely thanks to Inuit oral history and underwater archaeology."

The exhibition also includes the famous Victory Point Note, returning to Canada for the first time since its discovery in 1859. This is the only firsthand account of the Expedition's desertion of HMS *Erebus* and *Terror*. In addition, the exhibition highlights an array of Inuit artifacts and interviews, which introduce visitors to the critical role Inuit continue to play in solving the Franklin mystery.

When Franklin and his men set sail from England, much of the Northwest Passage had already been charted, and Britain was optimistic that the Expedition would succeed in mapping the final section. Two years later, the Expedition had not

returned. By fanning the nation’s fascination with the Arctic and her husband, Lady Jane Franklin sparked what some consider the largest and most costly rescue mission in history. It took more than a decade to establish the main facts — that all of the Expedition’s men were dead and its ships lost — although how and why remained unknown.

Death in the Ice – The Mystery of the Franklin Expedition is presented from March 2 to September 30, 2018, and is complemented by a souvenir catalogue published by the Canadian Museum of History. The exhibition was developed by the Canadian Museum of History in partnership with Parks Canada and the National Maritime Museum, and in collaboration with the Government of Nunavut and the Inuit Heritage Trust. It was presented by the National Maritime Museum, in London, England, from July 14, 2017 to January 7, 2018.

The Canadian Museum of History is grateful to The W. Garfield Weston Foundation for their support in the presentation of this exhibition.

“The W. Garfield Weston Foundation was pleased to be a lead partner in the discovery of the HMS *Erebus*. Solving this mystery was the result of a unique collaboration between public and private organizations and it speaks to the importance of our history and the pursuit of knowledge. We are very proud to support this unique exhibition, helping to bring this iconic and enduring story to the Canadian public,” said Geordie Dalglish, Director of The W. Garfield Weston Foundation and Chair of its Northern Committee.

Canadian Museum of History

Located on the shores of the Ottawa River in Gatineau, Quebec, the Canadian Museum of History attracts over 1.2 million visitors each year. The Museum’s principal role is to enhance Canadians’ knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the events, experiences, people and objects that have shaped Canada’s history and identity, as well as to enhance Canadians’ awareness of world history and culture. Work of the Canadian Museum of History is made possible in part through financial support of the Government of Canada.

For more information on this exhibit and others at the
Canadian Museum of History
visit their website: <https://www.historymuseum.ca/>

The *Argonauta* and the CNRS wish to invite other museums and organizations to submit announcements for their upcoming exhibits and special events for publication here in the *Argonauta*. If you have time sensitive announcements you’d like to make but submission for inclusion in the *Argonauta* may be too late let us know we’d be happy to share the word via our social media channels.

Tribute to Skip Fischer

Lewis “Skip” Fischer was born on October 4, 1946. His father nicknamed him “my little Skipper” and the name “Skip” stuck. It proved appropriate for such a formidable scholar of Maritime History. After studying shipping and ship-building in Prince Edward Island, he joined Memorial University of Newfoundland in 1976 as part of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project, an enormous and successful computer-based project in maritime history. He taught at Memorial over the next forty years, influencing a generation of maritime scholars at Memorial and around the world before he retired in 2015. He also taught courses overseas as a visiting professor, especially in Norway which was the focus of much of his later research and writing.

One of the earliest members in the Canadian Nautical Research Society, Skip Fischer raised the issue of a publication in 1984. This publication turned out to be *Argonauta*. Skip then pressed for “the establishment of a Canadian Maritime History Journal” – a peer-reviewed academic specialist publication. Eventually with funding from Memorial, he and others in the CNRS produced *The Northern Mariner* in 1991. Both these initiatives succeeded and both are still in publication, contributing to the promulgation of Canadian maritime history among scholars across the world.

Skip was also a founding member of the International Maritime Economic History Association, now IMHA. He was the co-editor of its newsletter, which in 1989 evolved into the *International Journal of Maritime History*. He served as its editor-in-chief for twenty-five years, while also founding various book series and helped to organize the first International Congress of Maritime History in 1992.

A prolific writer and researcher, he published approximately two hundred different titles in his career, collaborating with his life partner, Maggie, in achieving this tremendous accomplishment. In 2012, colleagues honoured his contributions with a festschrift *The World’s Key Industry: History and Economics of International Shipping* edited by Gelina Harlaftis, Stig Tenold and Jesús M. Valdaliso.

Skip passed away on 11 February 2018. He will be missed by Maggie, his family, his many friends, and everyone working in the field of maritime history. A private burial will be held in Harbour Grace at a later time.

Alec Douglas, “CNRS/NASOH and subsequent links”, *Argonauta*, January 2007, 10-12. Faye Kert and Colleen McKee kindly helped edit this tribute which was pieced together from various obituaries, tributes, and the Memorial University website by Isabel Campbell

Centre of Maritime History

First Symposium



In memoriam Skip Fischer
25-26 April 2018
Institute for Mediterranean Studies-FORTH

What is Maritime History?

This symposium is to inaugurate the new Centre of Maritime History of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies. It is meant to bring together some of the members of the group of Maritime Historians that have marked the path of Maritime History in the last forty years.

Professor Lewis R. (Skip) Fischer (1946-2018) was one of the “patriarchs” of Maritime History and paved the way for its organization worldwide since the 1980s. He had looked very much forward to this meeting, but unfortunately he passed away on 11 February 2018. We have thus decided to dedicate this First Symposium to him, hoping to continue his work from this part of the world.

The Centre of Maritime History of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation of Research and Technology - Hellas is based in Rethymnon, Crete, Greece. The aim of the Centre is to expand research on a broad range of topics of Maritime History, related to the areas of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and beyond, having global, interdisciplinary and comparative studies at its epicenter. The Centre provides resources for scholars to carry out their research in a stimulating and encouraging environment. Among these resources are: a) Digital data bases and archives, b) a specialized library, and c) a very cohesive and experienced group of researchers working in Maritime History. The Centre provides funding to talented doctoral students for the pursuit of research on maritime history. We aim to organize workshops, conferences and lectures on a regular basis, providing opportunities for scholars to discuss research problems and questions and exchange ideas for further research development.

PROGRAMME – FIRST SYMPOSIUM

Wednesday 25 April 2018

11:00- 13:00

1) Gelina Harlaftis, Director of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, “Skip Fischer and the new Centre of Maritime History”

2) Malcolm Tull, President of the International Maritime History Association, “The role of the International Maritime History Association”

13:00-14:30 Lunch

14:30-16:30 **Session I**

Definition, thematics (topics)

1) Lars Scholl, Maritime History at Maritime Museums

2) Sarah Palmer, History of the Ports

3) Amelia Polonia, Inter-, multi- and trans-disciplinarity in Maritime History: Potentialities and Limits

Coffee Break

17:00-19:00 **Session II**

Global History and Maritime History. How much have we developed this? How comparative and transnational have we developed maritime history?

1) Gelina Harlaftis “Maritime History or History of the Sea”

2) David J. Starkey, “Why Maritime History?”

3) David Williams, Maritime History; Contexts and Perspectives

20:00 Dinner

Thursday 26 April 2018

10:30-12:30 **Session III**

Maritime History and other disciplines: parallel or interconnected lives? Interdisciplinarity in Maritime History

1) Maria Fusaro, With what other disciplines does Maritime history communicate?

2) Stig Tenold, “Constantly crossing borders – research on maritime business”?

12:30-14:00 Lunch

14:00-16:00 Session IV

The Future in Maritime History: Research projects and continuity.

Maria Fusaro, Early modern Maritime History in ERC projects

Apostolos Delis, Modern Maritime History in ERC projects

Katerina Galani and Alexandra Papadopoulou, National Research Projects in Maritime and Economic History

16:00-16:30 Coffee Break

16:30-18:00 Global Maritime History. **Round Table and Conclusions**

18:00 The Centre of Maritime History's **Ph.D. scholarship in Maritime History**, Aegeus Foundation

20:00 Dinner

**Canadian Meteorological and Oceanographic Society's
52nd Congress**

“Marine and Environmental Risks and Impact “

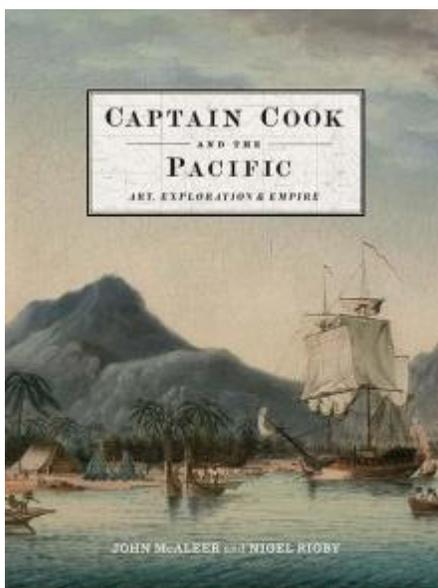
**10 June to 14 June, 2018
Halifax Convention Center
Halifax, Nova Scotia**

The congress will bring together a wide range of scientists and other professionals from across Canada and other countries with a focus on topics in atmospheric, ocean and earth sciences.

For more information visit the CMOS website: <http://congress.cmos.ca>



Books



Captain Cook and the Pacific

Art, Exploration and Empire

By: John McAleer & Nigel Rigby

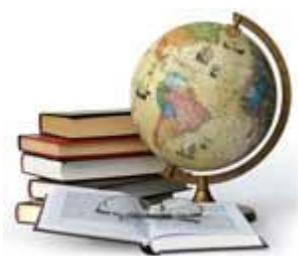
Publisher: Yale University Press in association with the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England

Website: yalebooks.yale.edu

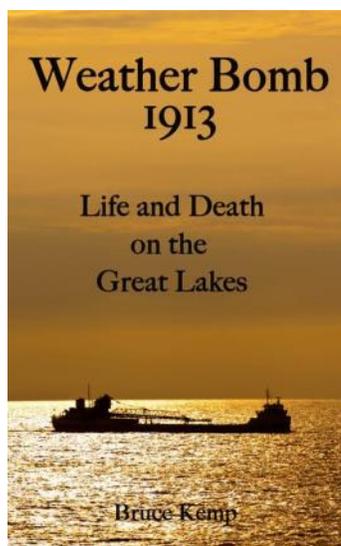
ISBN-13: 9780300207248

British Royal Navy Captain James Cook's voyages of exploration across and around the Pacific Ocean were a marvel of maritime achievement, and provided the first accurate map of the Pacific. The expeditions answered key scientific, economic, and geographic questions, and inspired some of the most influential images of the Pacific made by Europeans. Now readers can immerse themselves in the adventure through the collections of London's National Maritime Museum, which illuminate every aspect of the voyages: oil paintings of lush landscapes, scientific and navigational instruments, ship plans, globes, charts and maps, rare books and manuscripts, coins and medals, ethnographic material, and personal effects. Each artifact holds a story that sheds light on Captain Cook, the crews he commanded, and the effort's impact on world history. Showcasing one of the richest resources of Cook-related material in the world, this publication invites readers to engage with the extraordinary voyages—manifested in material culture—and their continuing significance today.

John McAleer is a lecturer in history at the University of Southampton, and former curator of imperial and maritime history at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. **Nigel Rigby** is curator of exploration at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.



Books



Weather Bomb 1913
Life and Death on the Great Lakes
By: Bruce Kemp

Publisher: Blurb Publishing
Website: www.blurb.ca

ISBN-10: 1389360504
ISBN-13: 978-1389360503

On the night of November 9, in 1913, the greatest hurricane ever to sweep the Great Lakes roared across the fresh water seas sinking 12 big ships and killing more than 260 people. For the first time, author Bruce Kemp has pulled together a compelling tale of the storm with interviews of survivors, state-of-the-art meteorological computer modelling, the opinions of 21st century Great Lakes captains and painstaking research through the newspapers of the day and government archives. Join him on his journey to find answers as to how this happened and whether it could occur again.

Available for purchase at the Nautical Mind

<https://www.nauticalmind.com/99885/weather-bomb-1913-life-and-death-on-the-great-lakes>



Canadian Nautical Research Society / Société canadienne pour la recherche nautique

Canadian Nautical Research Society / Société canadienne pour la recherche nautique

Your Society needs you. Membership counts, but serving on Council is a terrific way to participate in the decisions that are needed to ensure we will remain an effective force in preserving maritime history and in giving an opportunity for authors to get published. We are among the few who, through our publications, *The Northern Mariner* and *Argonauta*, can provide this service.

Nominations

As the pro tem Chair of the Nominating Committee, I am looking for your help in suggesting names of potential new council members. As you will know from reading my President's Corner, we have a terrific group of council members now serving on our Executive (see the verso of the front cover of *Argonauta* for a list of those now serving). However, we also are facing the challenge of renewal in the senior leadership positions and need to develop a group of younger people willing to step forward and "take up the torch". If you are interested in Executive service in the long term, let me know. Also feel free to contact any other Executive members just to chat about issues or to find out what sort of duties are involved.

The by-law information pertaining to nominating Officers and Councillors at large is shown below, and the elections will be at the Annual General Meeting of 23 June. Please send your nominations to the CNRS Nominating Committee c/o myself at richard.gimblett@me.com by 25 May.

NOMINATING OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY AND COUNCILLORS AT LARGE

37. There will be a nominating committee. Normally the past president will chair this committee with such other members as may be appointed by council. No officer or councillor or member standing for election or re-election may be a member of this committee. The nominating committee will nominate one candidate for each position to be filled at the next annual general meeting.

38. Members may also propose the names of candidates in writing and with the signatures of three members. All proposals must include a written undertaking by the nominee to accept the position if elected. If such suggestions are not accepted by the nominating committee for incorporation within their report, the nominations not so included must be forwarded by the nominating committee to the annual general meeting in addition to their report, for the purpose of conducting an election for the contested positions. The chair of the nominating committee will close the nominating list, which will include the proposals of the nominating committee and other proposals by members not later than 30 days prior to the annual general meeting.

39. A call for nominations shall be included in the January issue of *Argonauta* each year. Such notice must include the date on which nominations will close, to whom the nominations must be forwarded, and the date of the annual general meeting at which the nominating committee report will be received, or, if necessary, and election will be held.

40. Nominations from the floor are permitted at the annual general meeting only if there would otherwise be a vacancy for a position.

41. The council may fill any vacancy not filled by election at the annual general meeting in accordance with section 68, (Vacancy in Office).

We survive due to our slowly growing Membership and to the voluntary hard work of two significant teams: *The Northern Mariner* and *Argonauta*. These CNRS publications have a strong national and international audience and they have contributors ready with original editorial content. Everyone works hard including the Members of our Council.

Thank you, Rich

Keith Matthews Book Awards

Authors are encouraged to ask their publishers to submit their work for consideration for the CNRS Keith Matthews Award for the best book and the book deserving special recognition. Even important university presses that have published more than one award winner have ignored the initial call for submissions and require direct prodding. A part of the difficulty may be a high turnover in the publicity departments. Therefore an individual specific email address that works one year is cancelled by the next year's call for submissions. Hence my suggestion that authors go directly to their own publisher's contact to alert them of the CNRS book awards.

To be eligible the book must be by a Canadian on any maritime subject, or by anyone on a Canadian maritime subject. The best book award has normally been given to a scholarly work with the full academic apparatus. In 2016 we also initiated an award for a book deserving of special recognition. This might be a work of a very regional or local focus, or perhaps a memoir without the scholarly apparatus that is expected of the best book award. However, it must be a book which, in the view of the committee, offered an important record that would, in the future, be cited by historians.

As no submissions were received for best book award for books published in 2016 award, the awards committee will reopen the competition should submissions be received. We will also be reviewing submissions published in 2017 for both awards. Authors should advise their publishers that full details, including addresses where books should be sent, may be obtained from williamglover@mymts.net .

Bill Glover
Chair, CNRS Awards Committee

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Argonauta follows *The Chicago Manual of Style* available at this link: <http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/home.html>.

However, we utilize Canadian spelling rules, in lieu of American rules, unless referring to proper American names. Thus, the Canadian Department of Defence and the American Department of Defense are both correct.

For ship names, only the first letter of the names of Royal Canadian Navy ships and submarines is capitalized, and the name appears in italics. For example:

Her Majesty's Canadian Ship (HMCS) *Queenston*
Her Majesty's Canadian Ship (HMCS) *Châteauguay*

Class of ship/submarine: *Victoria*-class submarines (not VICTORIA Class submarines)

Former HMCS *Fraser* rather than *Ex-Fraser*

Foreign ships and submarines:

USS *Enterprise*
HMS *Victory*
HMAS *Canberra* 3

Because *Argonauta* aims to publish articles that may be easily understood by senior high school students and other non-experts, we encourage authors to include general introductory context, suggestions for additional reading, and links to relevant websites. We publish memoirs, humour, reviews of exhibits, descriptions of new archival acquisitions, and outstanding student papers. We also publish debates and discussions about changes in maritime history and its future. We encourage submissions in French and assure our authors that all French submissions will be edited for style by a well-qualified Francophone.

Although *Argonauta* is not formally peer-reviewed, we have two editors who carefully review and edit each and every article. For those producing specialized, original academic work, we direct your attention to *The Northern Mariner* which is peer-reviewed and appropriate for longer, in-depth analytical works.

All submissions should be in Word format, utilizing Arial 12 pt. All endnotes should be numbered from 1 consecutively to the highest or last number, without any repeating of numbers, in the usual North American Academic manner described in the *Chicago Manual* which also provides guidance on using the Word insert function at this link: <https://www.ivcc.edu/stylebooks/stylebook5.aspx?id=14646>. For technical reasons, we prefer that authors use endnotes rather than footnotes. Typically an article in *Argonauta* will be 4 to 6 pages long, though we do accommodate longer, informal pieces. We strongly encourage the use of online links to relevant websites and the inclusion of bibliographies to assist the younger generation of emerging scholars. The *Chicago Manual* provides detailed instructions on the styles used.

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